CULTURES AND CIVILIZATIONS

Conflict or Dialogue?

Vol. I

The Meridian Thought

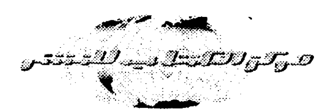
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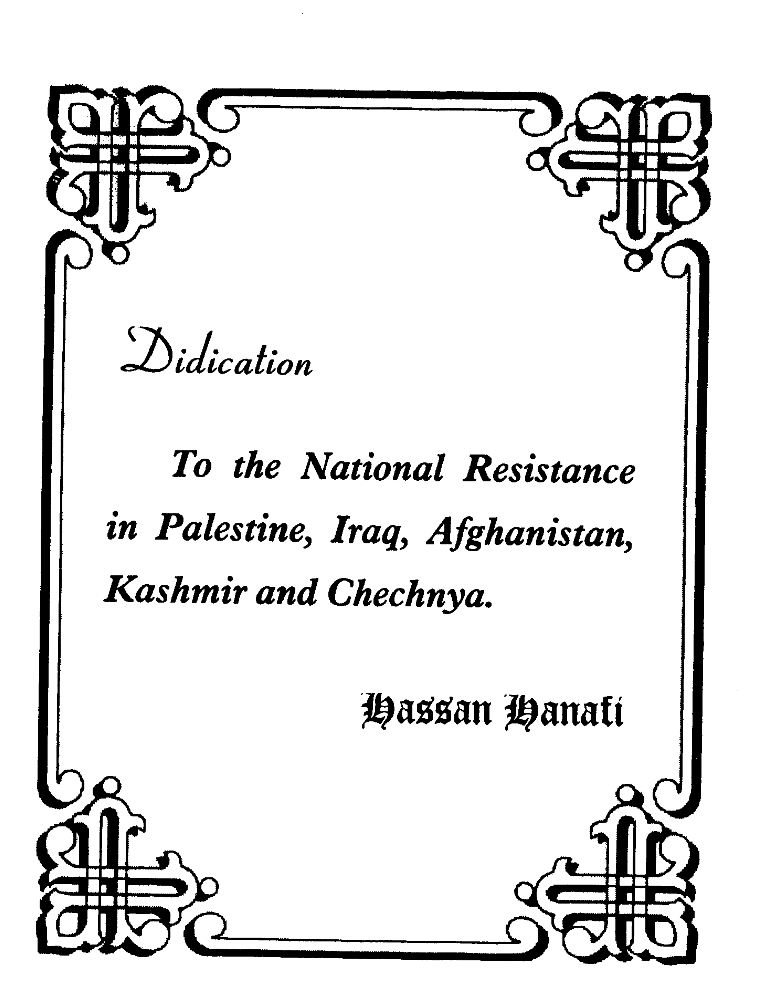
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Didication

To the National Resistance in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Chechnya.

Hassan Hanafi

Preface

"Religious Dialogue and Revolution, Essays on Judaism, Christianity and Islam" was the first collected papers during my professorship in University of Philadelphia, PA, USA 1971-1975 (1).

Islam in the Modern World, vol. I, "Religion Ideology and Development", vol. II, "Tradition, Revolution and Culture" contain writings during the period 1976-1995 especially during my stay in Tokyo, Japan as a visiting professor at the University of Tokyo and the academic advisor at the United Nations University 1984-1987 (2).

"Cultures and Civilizations, Conflict or Dialogue?", Vol. I **The Meridian Thought**, Vol. II **Cultural Creativity & Religious Dialogue**, is the third, containing writings in the period 1995-2005 (3).

Hassan Hanafi

Nasr City, 1st May 2006

(1) The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1977.
(2) 1st ed., The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1995, 2nd ed., Dar Kebaa, Cairo 2000.
(3) Book Center for Publishing, Cairo 2006.

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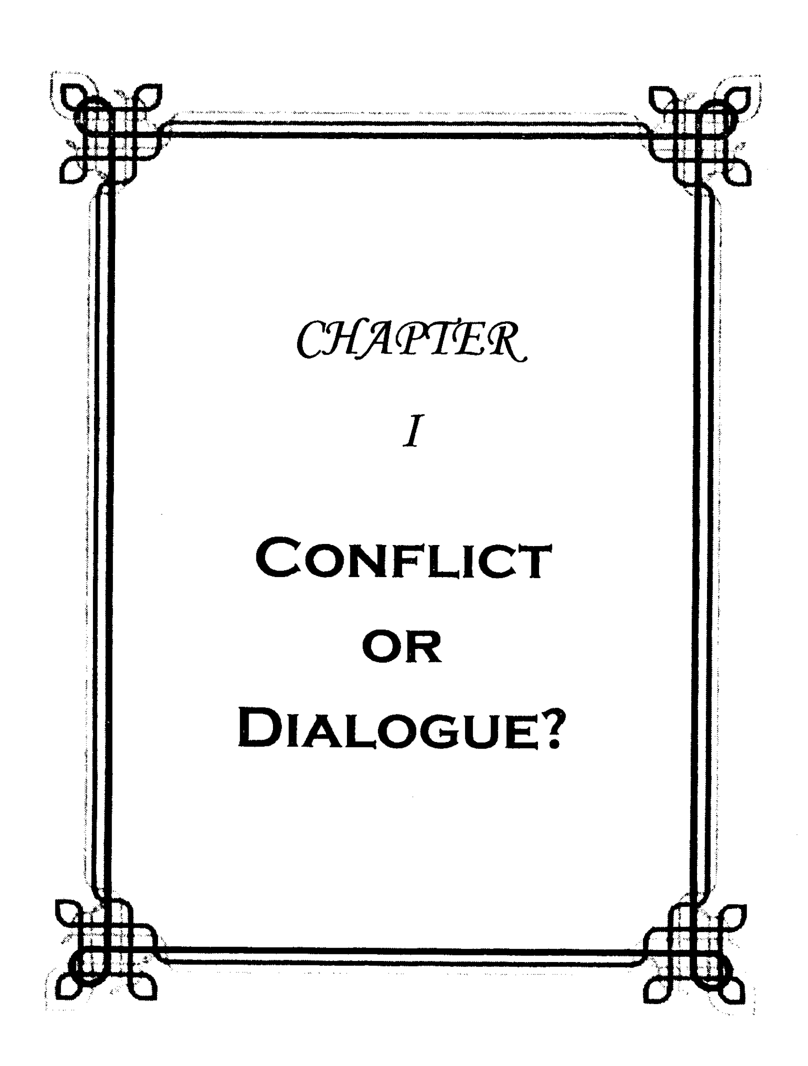
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CHAPTER

I

CONFLICT OR DIALOGUE?

Unity and Diversity

A Historical Model of Civilizational Dialogue

I- The two models.

Dialogue of cultures is a historical event which occurs each moment when two cultures meet. Cultures are not isolated islands given the relations between peoples through trade or missions, interchange of benefits, expansion of ideas and ethical systems.

Clash of civilizations is another model based on wars in order to impose the interests and values of one culture with capital 'C' on other cultures, with small 'c'. One has the right to live, to expand and to dominate, while other cultures are perishable, ephemeral and decaying. One is a historical, others are historical, subject of museums. One observes, others are observed. One is a permanent subject, others are research objects. One views and others are viewed. One is universal for all peoples and all periods of history, others are particular, born in space and time and are sites for tourism, mass-media and cinematography [1].

Dialogue of cultures is the logic of Dialogue of civilizations. Culture is the positive or negative attitude towards civilization.

(*) Parliamentary Seminar on the Millennium of Understanding Relations between the East and the West Civilizations. Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS). Tehran, November 26, 2000.

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Dialogues, in conflict or in dialogue?, Islam in the modern world, vol. II, Kebaa, Cairo, 2000, pp.556-563.

A positive attitude builds, a negative attitude destroys. Dialogue assimilates and absorbs, a process of mutual learning based on equality, and interchangeability.

Clash of civilizations is a negative attitude based on exclusiveness and expulsion. One culture is supreme, others are less. One culture is the center, others are peripheral. One produces, others consume. It is a one way track, from the center to the periphery, from the one to the many, from the producer to the consumer.

Supremacy may be based on race, color, ethnicity, arrogance, endogenous factors, or on military, economic, information power, exogenous factors. The first category of factors is innate, namely structural, while the second is acquired and accidental. The first is built-in, a substance, while the second is built-out, a power-shift in history.

In the model of dialogue the cultural attitude was to know the other irrespective of its kinds: polytheistic, deistic or monotheistic, just because cultures are human cultures, the work of human beings, and a human being is the image of God on Earth. Although Islam was victorious on the ground in the battlefield it was so respectful to cultures of the people to whom the new message came namely Jewish, Christian, Syriac, Nabatean, Greek, Romain, Persian, Indian, Pre-Islamic Arabia, Mesopotamian. Cultures are gifts from God, a man-made creation ordered by God to know and to explore.

In the model of clash, the civilizational attitude was to destroy, to annihilate other cultures and to uproot them in order to guarantee a permanent cultural domination. A culture is a factor of domination as well as a factor of liberation [1].

The model of Dialogue is based on certain metaphysics. God created mankind one, and many, similar and dissimilar, identical and

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(1) H. Hanafi: From decolonization to cultural liberation, Op.cit., pp.564-576. Also, Religious change and cultural domination Religious Dialogue and Revolution, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo, 1977, pp. 231-243.

different. God created mankind one, given the unity of human soul, the unity of human reason and the unity of human nature. All mankind is stemming out of Adam, the perfect human being, the vice-gerant of God. God also created mankind differently, different peoples, tribes, languages, social customs and manners, living in different distances from the sun, lands and seas, as well as in different times in history. Diversity is also in nature, diverse plants, animals, birds, lands and seas.

The right to differ in opinion is a result of this diversity in man and nature. It is impossible to unify the minds, the hearts and the opinions of all human beings. Individual choices and personal views based on universal principles or the analysis of public welfare is a source of law such as scriptures and consensus.

Diversity does not mean discord, discrepancy or contradiction, but it means a real manifestation of unity such as Essence and Attributes in theology, substance and accidents in physics, One and many in metaphysics.

Unity and Diversity in cultures are similar to unity and diversity in human soul. All human beings are created from one soul. However each individual has his own personality. All mankind has the same ideals, truth and piety, knowledge and happiness as Muslim philosophers said. The Unity of mankind gives the universal norm, diversity gives individual and collective responsibilities. Unity of origin is multi-directional.

Therefore, "Unity and Diversity" is the logic behind Dialogue of civilizations, like an axiom in deductive systems, a dictum of Reason and Nature. Revelation is a confirmation of the order of Reason and the order of Nature. "Global Power" supports the model of clash of civilization, between different cultural circles. Culture is power since culture is information and information is power. Since power is struggle, Western culture essentially Judeo-Christian is in clash with Eastern cultures essentially Islamic-Confucian, the old draconian wars between West and East, Greek, and Barbarian, Rome

and Hannibal, Athenes and Cartage, Rome and Persia in classical time; Europe and Africa, America and Asia, center and periphery, colonizer and colonized in modern times.

II- Historical Substantiations.

The logic of unity and diversity in cultures was behind Dialogue of civilizations as historical praxis in different periods of history. These two models are not only synchronic but also diachronic. They are hypothetical possibilities and at the same time historical actions.

Before Islam, Arabian Peninsula was in relation with its neighbors, Syria and Iraq in the north through the extension of the Arabian desert, Africa in the south through the Gulf of Eden, Egypt in the East, through Sinai Peninsula and Persia, India, Malaysia, Indonesia and may be China through Gulf of Oman and the Indian ocean. Arabian Peninsula was a crossroad between north and south as described in the Qur'an "the winter and summer journey", between east and west as also described in the Qur'an, the war between Persia and Rome. The geographic factor land and sea extension, was the material support of Dialogue between civilizations. The Hadith contains some Egyptian, Roman and Greek terms.

Trade was a second factor, another material carrier of Dialogue of civilizations. If geography was a static natural factor, trade is a human dynamic one. Traders movements carried also customs and manners with goods and marchanise. Religions and Doctrines were visible in the daily practice of traders, especially for the Arab Bedouin whose knowledge is based on observation [1].

Inside Arabian Peninsula another internal Dialogue occurred between Arab Jews, Christians, Sabeans, idoles worshipers and Hanifites, the followers of Abraham, Arab ancestor. Eastern Judeo-Christian traditions, the prophets of Israel and natural religions were

(1) Mahmoud Ismail: Sociology of Islamic Thought vol. IV, Sina, Cairo, 200 pp. 34-41 (Arabic).

already in dialogue. Arab elites, poets and seers were working for a "true" religion. The prophet himself did the same, hearing Judeo-Christian narratives and seeing the practices of the Hanifes and of the idoles worshipers.

After the expansion of Islam in the neighboring areas, endogenous cultures, Greco-Roman from the west and Indo-Persian from the east had been encountered by the new comers. Major Greek works had been already translated into syriac in the north, in Haran, al-Raha and Nessibin. Baidaba stories had been also translated from Sansycrite to Persia. The Arab Muslims, although victorious on the ground, respected the cultures of the reigbours, not destroying them. Islam incites for knowledge as far as China, the Fareast borders of the known world in ancient times motivated by thirst of knowledge irrespective of its sources. The translation of Aristotle was done as an the initiative of the khalif al-Mamoun to whom Aristotle appeared in his dream asking him about Reason as a norm of jurisdiction and which does not contradict Revelation. Revelation, Reason and Nature are three identic sources of knowledge. Other pseudo-narratives have been attributed to Aristotle saying: If I was alive in the time of the prophet I would have been his closest disciple; and to the prophet saying: If Aristotle was alive in my time he would have been the closest of my disciples. It should be noted that pseudo-narratives express a real mental attitude. Truth can be easily expressed by imagination more than by historical knowledge.

Aristotle was given the title of "the first master" while al-Farabi was the second. Ptolemeus is the first astronomist while al-Hassan ibn al-Haytham was the second Ptolemeus. Socrates is the wisest of all human beings. Plato is the man of power and light. Plotinus is the Greek sheikh. Galien is the best of all predecessors and followers. There is no culture which glorified other cultures as Islamic culture did.

The clash model is substantiated in history in European modern times when Europe became the center of the world, inheriting Islam.

The clash began by a conspiracy of silence vis à vis European intellectual sources. The Greek miracle has no precedent, neither in Egypt nor in Palestine, nor in Mesopotamia. Since the Europeans are the followers of the Greeks they are also without formative sources in Islam during scholasticism. Western culture in modern times is a creative one since ***cogito ergo sum***. Reason and Nature are subject and object in direct relation. Revelation as narratives are subject to critical methods of transmission as well as philological analysis to conclude that the word of God is the word of man.

The Judeo-Christian origin of Europe was in clash. Judaism took over Christianity. The West maintained Jewish election and the particular covenant and dropped the love of the neighbor and the Universal covenant in the last supper. In the Greco-Roman origin if Greece was kept in the pure reason, Rome prevailed in the practical reason. Spartes took over Athens, from ***Pax Romana*** to ***Pax Americana***.

Europe became the center of the world. The periodization of the West, classical, mediaeval and modern became the periodization of world history. Although Islam was in its golden age it was scholastic as mediaeval European scholasticism. In the model of Dialogue, Islam hailed the other and idealized him, while in the model of clash, the West became superior and other cultures inferior. A superiority-inferiority complex developed between the west and the non-west based on the center and periphery dichotomy. Eurocentrism is based not only on supremacy ***de facto*** but also on supremacy ***de Jure***.

The Clash model reached its peak in western colonial imperialism and the pillage of Africans as slaves to build the New World, after the extermination of the Indians. After mediaeval western expansion failed in the Crusades to occupy the heart of the Muslim world in the Holy Land, it went Eastwards to the oceans to surround it from "the Cape of Good Hope", Eden, Malaysia, Indonesia, The Philippines and the whole western Indian Islands. It went also westwards across the Atlantic to the New World under the

name of "**Geographic discoveries**" as if the non-western world did not exit ***per se*** before the Europeans came.

Since culture plays a double role as a tool of domination by the colonizer and as a means of liberation by the colonized, western colonialism aimed at destroying indigenous cultures substituting them with the culture of the colonizer. Africa became anglophone or francophone but never Africanophone. France in Algeria destroyed Arabic schools, Quranic madras's in the name of acculturation to create ***L'Algerie Française***. The first atomic bomb was thrown by the Western white man in the non-western world, on the yellow man.

Through new Technologies of communication, Globalization, Transnationals, the power of international organizations, the dissemination of new gods: civil society, pluralism, governance, gender, minority-groups, human rights, post-modernism, the west produces the text and the non-west comments and explains. This imbalance in world cultures made the west the eternal master and the non-west the eternal disciple.

In spite of national liberation movements and the creation of new nation-states, the colonizer did return back to the colonized through aid, cooperation, Commonwealth, ***La France d'autre mèr*** ...etc. The state became more dependent outside, and more oppressive inside. Westernization became a major trend carried on by Globalization from outside and privatization inside. A natural reaction came from fundamentalism in the name of identity against alienation. Clash of civilizations became not only on the external level, on cultural borders but also intra-cultural between tradition and modernism, conservatism and liberalism, Islamic fundamentalism and western secularism. The inside/outside clash results in the unity of the center and the fragmentation of the periphery.

III- Levels of Dialogue.

Cultural dialogue as a result of cultural interaction occurs on five levels according to the meaning of language and its relation to

Thought and Reality. Thought means speaking, thinking and referring, the term, the meaning and the world.

1- On the linguistic-terminological level an interchange occurred between the two terminologies of the two cultures interacting, namely Greek and Islamic, the old and the new. The new culture drops its own traditional particular, archaic, closed and religious terminology and adopts instead a more rational, universal, modern, open and philosophical terminology. The old vocabulary became unable to express the splendors and richness of the new meanings coming out of the cultural interaction. The old terminology such as God, faith, eschatology ...etc are suitable to Theology, the old discipline, not to philosophy, the new one. The new terminology are more suitable such as the pure form, the primary cause, the immovable mover for God, reason and philosophy for faith, and finality for eschatology. This terminological substitution is called pseudo-morphology, a simple interchange of the terms without the meanings [(1)]. The pure form, the primary cause or the immovable mover is not creator or providential in Greek terminology while in Islamic terminology as used by Muslim philosophers He is. The Greek term is maintained without its meaning and the Islamic meaning is maintained without its term [(2)].

In the clash model transliteration from the language of the center to the languages in the periphery is very common. There is no distinction between a foreign and an original word. Radio, Television, Cinema, Automobile, Bus, Bicycle, Alchemy, Metaphysics ...etc became a common language in the name of universalism.

2- On the meaning level, identical meanings in the two cultures are maintained in the name of human universal reason and the conformity of human nature. Virtue is in the middle between two extremes in Aristotelian Ethics and in Islamic sources, the Qur'an,

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Tradition and Modernism, Arab center for research and publication, Cairo 1980. pp. 133-150.

(2) This is like the German term Aufheben which means to negate and to affirm at the same time.

the Hadith and by Muslim ethical philosophers such as Maskaweh. The distinction between the soul and body and the immortality of the soul is identical by Greek philosophers, Pythogore, Socrates, Plato and in Islamic Scriptures and reaffirmed by Muslim philosophers: Al-Kindi, al-Farabi, al-Amiri, Ibn Sina, Ibn Baja and Ibn Tofail. The eternity of God, His Essence and Attributes are similar in Greek and Islamic philosophy. The "virtuous city" of al-Farabi and the "Republic" of Plato have the same structure, the hierarchical city, with the king philosopher or the prophet and the ***Imam*** at the top.

In the clash model, a distinction between the self and the other occurs in a hierarchical order between the superior and the inferior such as Arian mentality ***versus*** Semite mentality, logic ***versus*** absurdity, reason ***versus*** magic, science against superstition, ***Le cuit*** against ***Le cru***. The other is described as ***mentatlité primitive, pensée sauvage.*** The power of rationalization is only in the European mind as Max Weber and Edmund Husserl said.

3- Since the new culture is based on ***Tawhid***, seeing all differences in one scope a diversity of unity, all contradictions in Greek philosophy have been resolved by uniting the particulars into the universal. Plato and Aristotle are not different in spite of similarities in theories of Knowledge and Being. According to al Farabi, Plato and Aristotle adopt two particular perspectives of one global truth. Truth is both rational and sensible in theory of knowledge, ideal and real in theory of being, spiritual and material in ethics.

In the clash model, diversity is maintained as the law between cultures, unity is the exception. Every people has its national character, its genuine worldview and creativity: Music in Germany, Painting in France, Metaphysics in Germany, Science in England. ***L'esprit de finesse*** in France, Simplicity in Russia, Pragmatism in America, Formal logic in Poland, ***Consensus*** and Corporative ethics in Japan, Oriental despotism, the enlightened despot, the patriarchal society ... etc.

4- The new culture being more integral than the old one completed its partial structure. If Socrates says, "know your self by your self" the Muslim adds "Whoever knows himself knows his Lord". Islamic culture completed the horizontal axe by a vertical one. When the Greeks consider Reason as the ultimate tool of knowledge Islamic culture makes it identical to Revelation. Reasoning is equal to feeling. Inference and intuition lead to the same truth. Deductive Greek logic is completed by Inductive Islamic logic especially by Ibn Taymia. Aristotle's metaphysics are completed by Plotinus Enneades to make him a perfect philosopher combining Reason and Revelation.

The clash model usurps, excludes and expels any other additions coming out of cultural interaction. Muslim philosophers were not very honest in transmitting Greek culture to Europe. They misinterpreted, misunderstood and even added. The west reads the text without its interpretations, a historical Aristotle not an Islamized Aristotle. Hermeneutics, which became very common in contemporary western philosophy, Heidegger reading Kant, Husserl, Schelling and Nietzsche was denied to Muslim philosophers in reading the Greeks.

5- The old and the new cultures both participate in the same structure of truth, a ***philosophia perennis*** by reading the self in the other and reading the other in the self in a double mirror act. Cultures are similar and complementary, one and many, like experiences of friendship and love.

In the clash model, the culture of the center plays the role of the subject and the cultures of the periphery are taken as objects. The center observes, the periphery is observed. The whole attitude was behind the glorious Orientalism, one of the sources of clash of civilizations.

Missionaries in the name of predication uprooted indigenous peoples from their cultures in spite of Black Moses and Black Christ movements. Orientalism and proselytism are created, the first to gather information, the second for cultural substitution.

This opposition between two models, Dialogue of cultures and clash of civilization is not absolute, rather it is the major trend which became synonymous to the essence or to the ideal type. In the model of dialogue some clash may occur from within the culture before occurring from without such as clashes between theological sects, reformism and conservatism, rationalism and fideism, naturalism voluntarism, modernism and traditionalism, the outside and the inside. In history structural models are more diffused.

The polarity between Islam and the west takes a new meaning. Each one presents a pole after the end of the bi-polar world between capitalism and socialism. Which model will survive in the future, the dialogue model or the clash model? The new dichotomies, North-South, East-West are real. The challenge is which logic of relation is taken, clash of civilizations or dialogue of cultures?



Constructive Engagement in Dialogue of Civilizations

A Synopsis

1- Islam is for cultural pluralism. It is the culmination of a long development of revelation from Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus till Mohammed. It even absorbed non-Abrahamic religions such as Sabeanism, meditating in the stars not worshiping them; Magism, benefiting from fire not deifying it. Brahmanism, respecting the Brahamas, not overglorifying them and even idols-worship, Piety and good deed are the only criteria for the veracity of religion.

2- Islam accepts divergence for the sake of convergence. The world is many but God is one. The creatures are many but the Creator is one. God created mankind different peoples and tribes to know each other. The right to differ is a natural and a Human right. No one can pretend owning the Absolute Truth. ***Ijtihad***, which means personal opinion based on the spirit of the law, is a source of law. It comes form the same root as ***Jihad***, which means effort, theoretical in the first and practical in the second.

3- Islamic cultural history is a realization of such an ideal of cultural inter-action, cultural inclusion, not exclusion. The first historical moment is the Greco-Roman from the west and the Indo

(*) Prague, January 2004.

Persian from the East. The translation was done from the north to the south and from the east to the west. Islam was victorious on the ground but it translated people's cultures with full respect and admiration. Aristotle is the first master, al-Farabi is the second. Ptolemeo is the first and al-Hazan is the second Ptolemeo. Socrates is the wisest of all men. Galien is the best of the ancients and moderns. Aristole could have been the disciple of the prophet Mohammad and Mohammed could have been the disciple of Aristotle. The philosopher and the prophet are identic such as Reason and revelation, philosophy and religion, Renown and imagination. Muslim philosophers al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Tofail, Ibn Baja and Ibn Rushd did this with Greece and Rome. Al Razi did the same with the Sabeans. Maskaweh hailed Persian Wisdom as ***Philosophia Prennis***. Bayruni wrote "On India", judging Indian culture by reason and comparing it to Greek and Islamic cultures. Islam unified all ancient cultures in one global world view making them more perfect according to Islamic cultural model, unity and diversity, divergence and convergence.

4- The second historical movement was the medieval scholastic ıe when the translation was from the south to the north and still from the east to the west, and this time from Arabic to Latin directly or through Hebrew in Toledo, Cicilly, Palermo or later Bizance. These translations were at the very base of the upsurgence of late scholasticism, rationalism of Abelard, dialectitians against theologians. The Muslim became the model of the philosopher in Abelard's famous "Dialogue between a Jew, a Christian and a philosopher". For the first time reason and faith, philosophy and religion became identical in late scholasticism. Averoism was carried by Latin Averoists such as Siger of Barbant. Islam generated a movement of free thinkers in Mediaeval Europe before western modern enlightenment. Since nature in Islam is good, respectful, significant and subject to laws, science emerged, mathemathmatical or physical sciences. The identical aspects of reason, revelation and nature was behind western modern times.

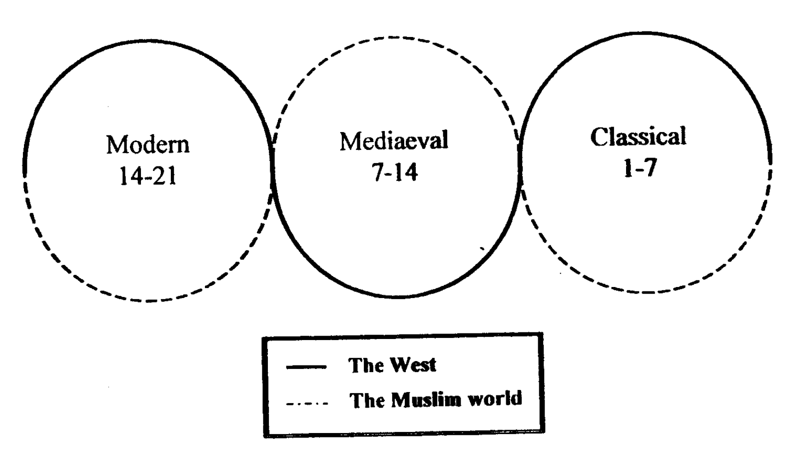
5- A third moment came in modern times when translations began from Europe to Arab and Muslim world, from north to south and still from East to west since XIXth century, the beginning of modern Islamic renaissance with Tahtawi and culminating in the XXth century and is still going on. Western Liberalism and socialism have been readapted according to Arab/Muslim circumstances. Most of western schools of thought and philosophical systems have been expanded in contemporary Arab and Islamic thinking such as: Rationalism, Idealism, formalism coming out of reason, experimentalism, naturalism, realism, materialism, positivism coming out of nature, or humanism, pragmatism, existentialism coming out of human existence. Modern Arab and Muslim thinking became a double source thinking putting the problematic of tradition and modernism, the old and the new, the endogenous and the exogenous, in harmony, in conflict or in mutual accommodation.

6- The fourth moment is the present one that may continue for several generations, similar to the mediaeval one when translations were from south to north and from east to west. In recent years and since the Islamic revolution of Iran, Islamic insurgence in Eastern Europe and in central Asia and recently after the events in New York and Washington Islam became a best seller. Many books on Islam including the Qur'an are widely distributed. Many modern Arab works have been translated. One of the Novelists is a Nobel prize awardee, another in science. Eurocentrism began to open its borders to cultures from Africa and Asia. The American aggression on Afghanistan may intend to avert the possible future pole in Asia.

7- In the previous four historical moments the west played the role of the master and the Arab and Muslim world the played role of the disciple twice, the Greek and the modern times moment. The Arab and Muslim world played the role of the master and the west the role of the disciple twice, the scholastic and may be the present moments. Once this contemporary moment ends, the superiority-inferiority complex between the two partners is dissolved. Love and

hate relationship may be transformed to equal partnership, mutual interaction and mutual learning. There will be no eternal master and no eternal disciple.

8- History goes in cycles. The west had two cycles, classical and modern with Mediaevalism cycles in between. The Muslim world had only one cycle, i.e., the classical Islam which corresponds to mediaeval Europe. Currently, the modern moment is ending in Europe: Deconstructionsim, post modernism, Farewell to Reason, "Against Method, the crisis of "European science and of the European consciousness, western civilization on trial, values turned upside-down, the west as machine creating new gods, Nihilism, God is dead and man is alive. Man is dead and nobody is alive. On the other hand, the Muslim world is ending its mediaevalism and beginning its modern times since the two last centuries reformation and renaissance. Europe and the Muslim world have cross-destinies through history around the Mediterranean basin when one rises the other falls. Now the decline of the West is simulations to the rise.



9- Through historical macro-analysis the spirit of the world began from the east to the west, from China, India, Persia,

Mesopotamia, Ancient Egypt to Greece and Rome, through mediaeval Europe till modern times. Due to the emergence of national liberation movements, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, Ban dung, third world block, Islamic insurgence, Asian Tigers, the spirit of the world may move again from east to west, from Europe to Asia passing again by the Muslim world. The tension now between Islam and the west is understandable, it is a normal swinging of the pendulum.



Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Prevention

Dialogue Serving Intercultural Communication

"The Meaning of Cultural Conflict"

I- Cultural Conflicts or Conflicts of Interests.

Conflicts are usually conflicts of interests, especially economic and political interests. However, Material Conflicts are embedded in and charged with Ideological Conflicts. If material conflicts can be known by statistics, i.e., who is owning what, ideological ones can be known by the mutual perceptions of the two contending parties. Actions are the outcome of perceptions. Actions are perceptions in ***actus*** while perceptions are actions in ***potentia***.

1- It is clear nowadays that there are two conflicting parties. They are no more the socialist bloc and the free world during the cold war. After the collapse of the first, the second formed one polar world. Local conflicts in Africa and Asia persisted. Some have world amplifications like Arab-Israeli conflict or Indian-Pakistani conflict. However, a new dichotomy began to appear in different names such as Islam and the West, War against terror. It did not appear with the 11^{th} Sept. events, in New-York and Washington but

(*) Center of Mediterranean dialogue, Barcelona, Amman 2003.

even before, since the Islamic revolution in Iran, the Taliban in Afghanistan, Political Islam in Lebanon, Sudan and Saudi Arabia, Serbian aggressions on Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovena. The West and the Rest jumped again to the minds.

2- Globalization accentuated that dichotomy between the center and periphery, the group of 7 or 8 and the rest of the world, the over-developed and the under-developed, the producer and the consumer, the multinationals and the nationals, the rich and the poor, those who have and those who have not.

3- Because Islam is the major religion in the periphery, in Africa and Asia, it played the role of vehicle of protest. Political Islam shared the same objectives as people's demonstrations in Seattle, Genoa, Davos, Prague, Paris and London. It became the voice of the voiceless. Islam also became the second religion, in number may be not in importance, in Europe and America, seen as a threat to western national identities. A double standard is practiced since Judaism including its visible rituals is not.

4- The tragic events of Washington and New-York of 11 September 2001 may be a landmark in American history and American self perception. For others, these events may be a reaction to the previous September 29, the beginning of the second *Intifada* 2000, left alone for a whole year without any support neither from the Arabs nor from the Western World. The total support of USA to Israel created a tense feeling of anti-americanism in the Arab and Muslim World. Durban was also a landmark in the crystallization of this anti-american feeling, when America refused to apologize for kidnapping over 10 million Africans to the new world and when it refused, with Israel alone, to equate Zionism with Racialism after all what it did to the Palestinian people. World Trade Center, the Pentagon and the white House are symbols of power, hegemonic and unjust. Many writers did criticize these symbols of power. Others do not know how to think but how to act. Doing may be Thinking ***in actus*** and Thinking may be Doing ***in potentia***.

II- Western stereotyped images of Islam.

Western cultural Perception of Islam is determined by the stereotyped images accumulated throughout history. Islam and the West represent the two shores of the Mediterranean, South and North. If the North is strong it expands to the South as what happened during the Greco-Roman and modern colonial periods. If the South is strong it expands to the North similar to what happened during the Islamic ***Futuhat*** in early Islam, and during the Crusades. In the past, the North was stronger twice and the South twice. One of the reasons of tension between North and South now is: What about the future, the presence of the West in the Arab and Muslim World and the presence of Islam in the West?

These mutual perceptions are the most common in the mass-media and popular culture. Surely they are counter-balanced by opposite images by the elite, some academic circles and writings. One of the legitimate devices for conflicts is these stereotyped images in the mass-culture and popular mind capable of mobilizing the masses against the adversary.

It is very difficult to make a distinction between Islam and Muslims as it is impossible to make a similar distinction between Christianity and Christians. Both are historical products. In fact the ***Qur'an*** as the first source of Islam can be distinct from history since it did not pass by a period of oral transmission. It has been written in the same moment of utterance. While the Old and the New Testaments passed by a period of oral transmission which varies in length, between 40-100 years in the case of the New Testament and between 700-300 in the case of the Old Testament. The ***Hadith*** passed through a period of oral transmission but collected by rigorous methods of multilateral transmission known 10 centuries later in Europe as Biblical Criticism.

1- Islam is a part of the Semite religions labeled since Renan and Leon Gautier as irrational, anti-logic, mythical, superstitional and magic, symbolized by the flying carpet, Alauddin and the magic

lamp and "One thousand and one night". At most, Muslims are carriers of Knowledge, not creators. While the West, on the contrary, is Arian, national, scientific and creator of knowledge. This root-image is behind the actual dichotomy between Islam and the West, Terror and Enlightenment.

2- Islam is mystical, dogmatic and sectarian. It leads to fanaticism and bigotry. It lacks tolerance and recognition of the other. It is linked to the tradition, to the Holy Book. It tends more towards the past when the golden age of Islam was at its prime. On the contrary, the West is secular, tolerant, pluralistic, critical to the tradition and futuristic. The difference between Islam and the West is not of degree but of kind, not related to history but to substance.

3- Muslims as peoples are expanded mostly in Africa and Asia, called lately the underdeveloped world. That is why Islam as religion is linked to underdevelopment. The infra-structure in the Muslim World as geographic area is featured by, lack of basic needs, problems of drought, hunger, desertification, poverty, unemployment, poor housing, ... etc. The super-structure is also characterized by illiteracy, oppression, monolythism, militarism, totalitarianism, violation of human rights, gender gap, minorities problems, corruption, disorder ...etc. Violence is practiced inside and outside. Oppressive violence of the ruler generates a counter violence by the ruled. State's violence results in counter-violence. The state has priority on civil society. In short "Oriental Despotism" at most generated the enlightened or the "Just despot". On the other side the West gave the Word freedom, democracy, egalitarianism, human rights, equality of rights and duties, systems of check and balance.

4- Arabs, Muslims, middle easterners are interchangeable names to denote a certain kind of behavior depicted in the mass-media and literature: discrepancy between logos and praxis, between words and actions. Esotericism, hypocrisy, laying, double-talk, double-face ...etc, all multiple features of the same conduct. 'Cunning' as an attribute is not in history but in the individual.

Seclusion and exposure are two faces of the same behavior. The Europeans are clear-cut, open, frank and direct. Hermeneutics is not in behavior but in language.

III- Muslim stereotyped images of the West.

These images are also built in the Arab and Muslim mass-media induced from western mass-media, literature, art, ideologies philosophies, social movements and history. They are popular images, selective and aiming at caricaturing the adversary. They are pushed to the extreme for the sake of polarization and self-legitimation.

1- From the mediaeval West came the Crusaders, the first form of western colonialism. In the name of religion, western invasions of the Muslim world was legetimized. The Crusaders did not succeed in their mission thanks to Saladdin and the discrepancy between the two cultural levels of the invaders and the invaded. However, the war of aggression stayed in the Muslim subconsciousness, a lesson from the past to be repeated in the future. Modern Colonialism contained the same objective not only through the Mediterranean but from the ocean , not only to the heart of the Muslim World, Palestine, but also from the periphery around Africa and Asia after European expansion to the western hemisphere through the Atlantic. Almost all Africa, South East Asia and the New World were occupied. After decolonization and the fall of the socialist block, Globalization became a third form of hegemony in the name of the free market, the information revolution, the world as one village ... etc. Since the Muslim world is in the periphery, the less-industrialized world and Europe in the center, the more industrialized world, North-South relations became one-way, the Production of the North and the consumption of the South, Creativity in the center and transfer in the periphery.

2- After Greco-Roman, Mediaeval and modern western empires, Euro-centrism began to appear as a common dominator. The accumulation of world knowledge from the Far East to the Middle East to the west gave Europe a certain kind of epistemological

arrogance forgetting the roots of knowledge. Science is not the history of science. European creativity went beyond history. A complex of superiority was born in the west generating another complex of inferiority in the rest. Sometimes epistemological arrogance intertwines with some kind of racialism based on color or Divine election. Slavery was a common practice till the nineteenth century. Indigenous populations in western hemisphere were killed or put in reservations. Millions of Africans were drawn as slaves to the New World. Western consciousness never forgot Empires, from Imperial Rome to Imperial USA, from ***Pax Romana*** to ***Pax Americana***.

3- Western behavior is motivated by interest as Habermas observed in his "Knowledge and Interest". Materialism would express a major trend in western consciousness. Materialism is also linked to Egoism which is itself an expression of extreme individualism. Out of these deep motivations in western consciousness came power without justice ***vis à vis*** others. The ideals of the enlightenment were norms inside Europe, The opposite ideals were practiced outside. Ethical norms became double-standards and lost their universalism. Injustice has been done not only to the present but also to the past in his historiogrophy. The History of the whole world was reduced to the history of Europe in modern times. The fruits were taken without the seeds, the conclusions without the premises.

4- The west is very proud of its secular experience on the eve of modern times. Once it was impossible to combine the old and the new, tradition and modernism, the geo-centric worldview with the helio-centric, the church and the state, a discontinuity model was necessary in favour of the new. Reason with nature can produce natural laws, and with society can discover social laws. God does intervene neither in human reason nor in nature. Secularism pushed to its extreme became atheism. God is not needed to explain World-System. Atheism leads to the loss of the focal point necessary for knowledge and action. That is why atheism leads to relativism, skepticism, agnosticism and finally to nihilism.

God is dead and man is alive. Man is also dead and nobody is alive. If Western culture began its modern times by reason, nature, progress, culminating in the ideals of enlightenment it ended by the opposite ideals such as Decline of the west (Spengler), Crisis of European sciences (Husserl), Crisis of European consciousness (Hazard), Farwell to Reason, Against method (Feyerabend), Deconstructionism, Post modernism (Derrida, Deuleuze, Lyotard).

These mutual stereotyped images are the ideological basis for conflicts especially between Islam and the West. Intercultural dialogue is capable of dissipating these conflicting images to uproot these conflicts. Dialogue serves to enhance intercultural communication and mutual understanding. Cultural conflicts may hide conflicts of interests and may be at their deep roots. The question is: Where to begin?



The Shores
OF Meridian Thought

A Phenomenological Analysis

I- Object and Method

1- Being in the Mediterranean, accumulating its historical experiences and Living its present ***Lebenswelt,*** a phenomenological analysis may be the most suitable method to approach "The Shores of Meridian Thought" .References, documentations, footnotes are in space not in time, external not internal, dead script not a lived experience, a ***Nachverstandnis*** not a ***Vorverstandnis***. Since we are all Mediterraneans an intersubjective experience would be possible, by sharing the same essences to reach a high degree of objectivity, not as a logic of consequence, nor as an ***adequatio Ratio in Rei*** but as an ***Aletheia.*** Intuitions of essences are a better evidence than scriptural footnoots. Prophets are more convincing than scribes.

2- Geographically, the Mediterranean is one entity, a sea within land separating Europe in the north, and Africa in the south, Americas in the west and Asia in the east. It is the center of the world, like China and Jerusalem in ancient times. In the northern shore was the birth of Greco-Roman culture, and in the southern shore was the

(*) The Shores of the Meridian Thought: Africa, Mediterranean Europe, Modernity, Tradition, Amor loci; Laboratorio Progetto Poeisis DA QUI magazine, Alberobello, (BA), Italy, 22-24 March 2001.

expansion of Islam. In the eastern shore was the birth of Abrahamic religions. Syria, Jordan and Iraq were the northern extension of the Arabian Peninsula in the south where Abraham journeyed from Ur in the north to Mekka in the south, where Joseph and Jesus moved between Palestine and Egypt and where Mohammed also journeyed between Syria and Mekka before receiving revelation.

3- The northern shore of the Mediterranean extends to northern Europe and the southern shore also extends to the sub-Saharan Africa. The eastern shore of the Mediterranean in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Turkey extends into Asia from the Bosfor and Dardanil in the north, and from Suez Canal and the Gulf to Asia. The western shore of the Mediterranean through Gibraltar overbools the Americans through the Atlantic. Therefore, the Mediterranean is geographically the center of the world, the cornerstone of the four directions, the heart of the cross.

4- Historically, the Mediterranean is the birthplace of ancient cultures and civilizations. In the north the Greco-Roman tradition took birth. In the east and in the south, the Judeo-Christian and Islamic traditions originated. In the west, in Andalusia both Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian and Islamic civilization converged in one human model, Andalusia as a metaphor. When ***Fons Vitae*** was discovered in Spain, Jews, Christians and Muslims claimed the text before its author was discovered Ibn Gabirol (Avicembron). Each tradition felt that the text expressed its own soul. Egypt was present in Greece as Greece was present in Egypt. The Sphinx, Isis and Osiris are both Egyptian and Greek. Athena is black as Alexandria is white [1].

II- Love-hate relationship

1- The Mediterranean is the center of the old world, surrounded from the north by Greece and Rome, from the south by

(1) Martin Bernal: Black Athena, the Afro-Asian roots of classical civilization Vol. I, II, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1987.

Egypt, from the east by Can'an. Western Mediterranean was a simple extension of either the north in ***Pax Romana*** or of the south ***Pax Islamica.*** The western shore, Gibraltar, is the connection between the southern and northern shores, a simple strait for crossing either ways. Mediterranean islands were the place of alternative southern or northern cultures, Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicilia and Sardine.

2- In case of peace, the relation between the four shores are cultural and civilizational through translations and trade. Between north and south translations are done from Greek into Arabic in Syria and Irak. The whole Greek culture: philosophy, medicine, history, pharmacology, astronomy, mathematics, geometry, ... etc was translated first through Syriac, second directly from Greek into Arabic. This occurred at the end of the classical period and the beginning of the early scholastics around VIII century AD, II century H. Metaphorically the translation were done after the khalifa al-Ma'moun had a dream. Aristotle appeared asking him about what is good and what is bad. According to Aristotle both are known by Reason, and according to Ma'moun both are known by Revelation. Reason and Revelation are two identical sources of knowledge.

3- After assimilating Greco-Roman culture from translation to annotation, to commentaries grat, middle and small, to exposition, to composition and to accumulation, the process from transfer to creativity has been accomplished [1].

Islamic philosophers were not simple carriers of knowledge or commentators of Aristotle at the best but they were creators of knowledge, combining the exogenous culture with the endogenous, Greco-Roman culture with Abrahamic religions in a third ***Philosophia Perennis***. They did not misinterpret or interpolate, confusing the historical Aristotle with the Islamized one, based on the apocrypha or Plotinus. They were completing Aristotle to make him more perfect as Christ did with the Law. Aristotle is identical to

(1) Hassan Hanafi: From Transfer to Creativity (9 Vols.), Dar Qebaa, Cairo, Egypt, 2001.

Mohammed as M.H. Heikal in modern times considered J.J. Rousseau also similar to Mohammed. Revelation, Reason and Nature are the same.

4- When Islamic culture in the southern shore of the Mediterranean was coming to an end in the Vth century H. and the late scholastic in the XIII AD. was beginning, a second wave of translation did occur from the south to the north, from the Arabic Islamic culture to the Judeo-Christian one directly from Arabic to Latin or indirectly through Hebrew in Spain, southern Italy or Bizance. A new model of thinking from the south to the north, the identity between Reason, Revelation and nature shakened the opposite model dominating in the north, the difference between Revelation and Reason. Faith is beyond reason and the difference between Revelation and nature permits Grace and miracles as breakthroughs in natural laws.

III- War and Peace

1- In case of war, Alexander the Great and Cesars, invasions came from the north to the south. The Mediterranean basin had to be a Roman island. After the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, Imperial Rome became the catholic Rome. The Empire became the church. Saint Augustin, although coming from the south, became the ideologue of the north. He wanted to preserve the unity of the Christians under Rome against the Donatists and their desire to be at the same time Christians and independent from Rome. The wars between Rome and Carthages, between Cesar and Hannibal were characteristic of this antagonistic relation between north and south in ancient times. In modern times, in the first half of the XX century modern colonialism was the invasion of the north to the south, a new ***Pax Romana***, Spain in Morocco, Ifni and the Desert. Ceupta and Melilia are still occupied. France took over north-Africa and Italy invaded Libya. In the second half of the XX century contemporary

liberation movements, began in the southern shore against the colonial northern shore.

2- Sometimes the relation between the western and eastern shores of the Mediterranean are dissimilar, a peace-war relationship. In the II century AD, the end of the 1 century H. Islam expanded from the east to the west, from Arabian Peninsula to Egypt, Libya, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco and then to Spain. An Umayyad prince escaping from Damascus went to Spain from the south and westwards, from Egypt and north-Africa, he wanted to restore Damascus by the north and eastwards, from Spain to southern Europe to eastern Europe and jumping from Turkey on Damascus again. The Mediterranean was an Arab sea, north and south, east and west.

3-During medieval times, the Crusaders came from the west to the east under the pretext of liberating the holy land: Jerusalem. The east was able in two hundred years to defend itself. The crusaders came as invaders and returned back better informed and better learned. Modern colonialism beginning by the so-called "Geographic discoveries" in the XV and XVI centuries and ending by the military invasions of the north to the south in the XIX century wanted in reverse to make the Mediterranean a Latin see, from ***Pax Romana*** to ***Pax Americana.***

4- Israel as a colonial settling state is the only left-over from the old war relationship between the Mediterranean shores, from the north to the south in Arab-Israeli wars and from the west to the east during the early immigrations. Israel is a combination of a crusaders emirate in Palestine as well as of modern European colonialism of the Arab world. After the liberation of South Africa from Apartheid, Palestine is almost the only spot in the world which is still occupied. Both Apartheid in South Africa and Zionism in Palestine were created in 1948.

IV- Equal partnerships

1- Each shore played the role of the master twice: the northern shore during the Greco-Roman period, the period of the first translation from Greek to Arabic and during modern European colonialism, invasion without culture, just usurpation of peoples land and soul, and the south during ancient Egyptian civilization where Greek philosophers used to learn such as Thales and Plato, and during the beginning of scholasticism through the period of the second translation from Arabic to Latin. Each shore also played the disciple twice, the Greeks were the disciples of ancient Egypt, and enlightened scholasticism till the eve of modern times was the extension of Islamic culture. The north was behind the enlightenment of the south twice, in classical times through the translation of the Greek culture into Arabic and in modern times through the translations of modern western sciences from European languages into Arabic during the XIX and the XX centuries. The south was also behind European enlightenment twice, first in ancient times, when the Greek were, learning from the ancient wisdom of Egypt, Can'an and Mesopotamia, second on the eve of modern times through the translation of Islamic sciences.

2- Nowadays, each shore can get rid of its inferiority-superiority complex. As historical consciousness, each shore has its due place in history. The old dialectics of peace and war, of transfer and creativity, of discipleship and mastership can be changed now to a new dialectic of cultural dialogue, a double way track, a give and take double movement. "A pluralistic universe" is not only a paradigm within culture but also an inter-cultural paradigm. There is no more one culture with capital 'C' and other cultures in small 'c'. Each culture has its own model and each cultural interaction has its own inter-paradigm.

3- In north-south dialogue, each shore needs the other. The south needs the north for more scientific and technological development, for the implementation of the basic needs to build the

social infra-structure. The flow of labor from the south to the north is a natural movement of immigration. The north also needs the south for more understanding for a better value-system not based on double-standard but on a universal code of ethics, with once standard in the north as well as in the south. Cheap labor vast markets and energy are in the south for better products and exports to the north.

4- The eastern shore of the Mediterranean, namely Israel is based on ethnicity, sectarianism and expansion covered-up by the old biblical covenant, a particularist version of the covenant recuperated in the XIX century political Zionism needs to learn from the western shore, from the Andalusian model during the Muslim era in Spain where Muslims, Christians and Jews lived together sharing the same Abrahamic ideal, the unity of God, the unity of nation and the unity of mankind. The creation of the state of Israel on the XIX century European nation-state model did not solve the Jewish problem in Europe, which resulted from the pogrom in the east and the holocaust in the west. It did create another problem, the Palestinian holocaust. The Andalusian model in southern Spain is a convergence of east and west, the eastern Abrahamic model in the western hemisphere, of north and south, the expansion of Morocco, the southern shore of the Mediterranean to Spain, its northern shore.

V- The spirit of the world.

1- For the time being a necessary step has to be taken, from Orientalism to Occidentalism, from the northern and western shore of the Mediterranean as a subject and the southern and eastern shore as an object in classical Orientalism to the southern and eastern shore of the Mediterranean as a subject and the northern shore as an object, from the northern shore as an observer and the southern and eastern shore as observed in traditional Orientalism to the southern and eastern shore as observer and northern and western shore as observed in new Occidentalism. There is no permanent subject or

permanent object. Scholarship as well as international relations are the expression of the balance of power in mind as well as in will.

2- If the spirit of the world ***Weltgeist*** in ancient times blew from the east to the west, from Asia to Europe, from ancient China, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Can'an and Egypt to Europe, and if in medieval times it blew from the north to the south, from Greece to Rome to Egypt and north Africa, and in modern times from Europe to Africa, the spirit of the world now may blow again from the west to the east, from America and Europe to Asia, modern China, Japan, Korea, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Iran, from the G 7/8 to The Asian Tigers, and from the north to the south, from the apartheid implemented by the north to free south Africa.

3- The European unity in the north has to be gradually extended to the south in a new Mediterranean commonwealth. North Africa is no less developed than Calabria. The distance between Cisilia and Tunisia is less than Cisilia and Lombardia. ***France d'autre mere*** would have a new meaning, not the metropole in Paris and the colony in Algeria but a unity between the two shores of the Mediterranean. The southern shore is close to the northern shore as United Kingdom is close to Europe separated by the British channel. Spain in the north and Morocco in the south are only separated by Gibraltar which can be seen from both sides. Southern Italy and Libya, Greece and Egypt, Athens and Alexandria shared the same history. Istanbul and Cairo were for more than four centuries one Empire. Islam in Turkey in the northern shore and Arabism in eastern and southern shores belong to the same value-system. A modern Islam is searched for in Turkey as well as in the Arab world as a third way between fundamentalism and secularism.

VI- Final clarifications

1- The purpose of the unity of the Mediterranean shores is not to find a room for Israel in the eastern shore, or to minimize the

tension between Zionism and the Arab world but to solve the Palestinian problem as a part of the eastern Mediterranean shore left behind after the creation of the state of Israel. After the restitution of the Palestinian national rights and the aspirations for an independent state in Gaza and the west bank with Jerusalem as its capital, Israel can be seen as part of the eastern Mediterranean. May be one day the Andalusian model will come back from the western to the eastern shore in a new Palestine where Jews, Christians and Muslims can live again in one big community, sharing the same universal code of ethics stemming out of their common father, Abraham.

2- The purpose of unity of the Mediterranean shores is not either to find a Geo-historical-cultural legitimation for Globalization and a new hegemony of the northern shore on the southern, with its vast markets, cheap labor and energy. The purpose is to level up the south with the north on the scientific and technological level and to level the north with the south on the human level, to complete northern individualism with southern communitarianism, and southern communitarianism with northern individualism. The purpose is to pursue the national liberation movements from the military and political level to the economic and cultural level. Inter-dependence, regional co-operation and cultural encounters are alternative concepts to globalization of the center and fragmentation of the periphery.

3- The purpose is not to defend secularism cheer to the northern shore including Turkey against fundamentalism of the eastern and southern shores but to find a third way, an enlightened Reformism. Religious secularism is the outcome of western discontinuous model between tradition and modernism, the new against the old and contrary to it, and the old eastern model, the old is in harmony with the new and juxtaposed to it. With the insurgence of contemporary fundamentalism in the west, and the destruction of the ideals of the enlightenment in "Farwell to reason, against method", post-modernism, deconstructionism, the old discontinuous model is

questioned and re-evaluated. A third way between northern Liberalism and southern conservatism may be beneficial for both.

4- The purpose is not to defend one particular trend versus other trends in the name of Mediterranean thought, Mounier's personalism by Rene Habaslhi from Lebanon and Lahbabi from Morocco, French enlightenment of Taha Hussein of Egypt, liberal or Arab Marxism of Laroui or structuralism of al-Jabri in Morocco, Existentialism or Humanism of Badawi, logical positivism of Z.N. Mahmoud, Cartesian Rationalism and Kantian and Transcendentalism of O. Amin in Egypt, Hegelianism, Fichteanism or Bergsonism in Arab Renaissance (Ba'th) ideology. These are the extension of northern philosophies to the south. The purpose is neither to propagate Islam from the southern shore to the northern one. Northern materialism finds sometimes in some Europeans its reaction in spiritual Islam in the southern shore, from a reaction to another, from an extreme to another. A compete, balanced and integral value-system can combine western naturalism and Islamic moralism, a free rational choice not an escapist reaction.

Unity and diversity of cultures in the Mediterranean shores preserve the unity of purpose and the diversity of means, the unity of content and the diversity of forms, the unity of norm and the diversity of modes, the unity of the Mediterranean basin and the diversity of its shores.



Education of the Self, Education of the Other

1- Education is a mutual process between educator and educated. An educator which does not take into consideration the setting of the educated becomes inefficient or a simple brain washer. Self-education is the pre-requisite for the education of the other. Looking inside precedes looking outside. The master learns from the disciple as well as the disciple learns from the master.

There is no model for education of the self by taking the other as criteria, educating the other according to the norms of the self. There is no parameter in education for the self or for the other. There is only mutual education by getting rid of the stereotyped images the self creates for the other or the pre-judgments which the other forms on the self.

Education is a double effort of purification of the self from its own inherited image and the misconception the Self has from the Other. Neither Islam is the Self nor Europe is the Other, and neither Europe is the Self and Islam is the Other. Both are equal partners on the same level of inter-mutuality. Both are normative entities in themselves, without measure and measured, subject and object, universal norm and particular reality, good and evil, human and inhuman. Both live with each other horizontally, not vertically, in History not in Eternity.

(*) Muslims in Dialogues: Basic Principles of Islamic Religious Education in the West, Osnabrück University, Germany 21-23 January, 2004.

2- Muslims in the Diaspora are not like Muslims in the heartland. Muslims in Europe are living as minority with the whole psychology of minorities: sense of persecution, group solidarity, in-ward behavior, seclusion, symbols and rituals, conservative forms, fear of assimilation, lack of integration, complex of inferiority, psychology of the emigrant, loyalty to the origin, lack of adaptation, intermarriage, inter-groups behavior, ***decalage*** in time, traditionalism midst modernism, Mediaeval Islam carrying its own history midst the West splitting from its own history, scholasticism and Medievalism. The historical context of Muslims in the West is different from the historical context of the West Muslims living in. Muslims at most are still living the period of Reformation trying to switch from XVth century Reformation to the XVIth century Renaissance. The West went further to Rationalism of the XVIIth. Enlightenment of the XVIIIth, Positivism of the XIXth and Existentialism and Pragmatism of the XXth. The West now left its modernism to Post-modernism and Deconstructionism. It regents its own history, development and achievements.

3- There is no one homogeneous Islam, and there is no one homogeneous West. Islam is multiple, split between two major schools of thought from its roots between Ash'arism and Mu'tazilism, Scripturalism and Rationalism, to their modern ramifications between Traditionalism and Modernism, Conservatism and Reformism. The tension is immense at home more than abroad to the extent of a civil war in Algeria.

The West is also two: The Imperial, Capitalist, Eurocentric and sometimes racial West which Muslims everywhere and rightly antagonize, and the free West, socialist, international and humanitarian which Muslims, admire and share rightly also.

A dialogue is easier between a conservatist Muslim and a conservatist European, between a liberal Muslim and a liberal European. It is more difficult between a conservatist Muslim and liberal European or between a liberal Muslim and a conservatist

European. A Thomist can dialogue easier with an Ash'arite than with a Mu'tazilite, while Leibniz can deal easier with a Mu'tazilite rather than with an Ash'arite.

Muslims are not one block, and the West is not one block either. In each culture there are different schools of thought and both cultures may be living different historical periods. The difference is not between Islam and the West as such but between what version of Islam and what segment in the West, in what period the West is living and in what period Islam is living.

4- The split Sunni-Shi'i in modern Islam is minimal. It is a historical legacy more than a contemporary differentiation. In the past there was a debate, in the present there is a dialogue to narrow down the gap, led by a whole movement, ***Taqrib***. Doctrinal differences are known only by scholars not by the masses, in learned Islam not in popular Islam.

If there is still a Sunni-Shi'i struggle, it is for power and authority within Muslim communities abroad: control on the mosques, the imamate, the predication, the representation of the Muslims within European municipalities for acquiring funds and financial aid and for implementing the politics of Muslim States.

After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Sunnis and Shi'is shared the same painful experiences of westernization, under-development, foreign aggression in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Chechnya. Both are under the threat of the New World Order imposed on them in the name of Globalization and market economy. The re-establishment of relations between Egypt and Iran is only a symbol between the Sunni World and the Shi'i World. In the Palestinian Resistance there is no difference between Hamas, Jihad and Hizbullah.

5- The West is rightly proud of its secular experience. Secularism was the only hope for the West on the eve of its modern times. It was impossible to maintain at the same time church and

state, the old and the new, faith and reason, religion and science, theocracy and democracy. Both were incompatible. The West had to choose its own destiny with the New against the Old, defending what was known later as the Ideals of the Enlightenment: Reason, Freedom, Equality, Social Justice, Nature and Progress.

Muslims thought that Secularism meant the separation between Religion and Life not between church and state, between religious authority and political authority. Secularism was misconceived as antagonistic to Islam. In fact, the Ideals of the Enlightenment are the Intentions of Islamic Law ***Maqasid al-Shari'a*** and its final end. Islamic Law is a positive Law ***Shari'a Wad'iya*** as Western Civil Law, based on the public welfare anchored in five pillars: Life against mortality and genocide, Reason against ignorance, lies and withholding information, Universal code of ethical norms applicable to all mankind against skepticism, relativism, agnosticism, nihilism and double standard in practice, Human Dignity against violations of human rights, and finally public wealth against waste, exploitation, monopoly and mal-distribution of wealth. These Universal Intentions of the Law are both religious and secular. In that sense, the religious in Islam is secular and the secular is religious. A sexual act is highly religious if the intention is progenity and multitude. The Divine is Human and the Human is Divine. In Islam the real meaning of incarnation is ideally maintained.

6- The West is also right, being the modern cradle of ***the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*** declared twice once after the French Revolution combining with human rights the rights of the citizen, and the second time after the second world war with forty millions human beings casualties. No one on Earth would doubt the right for free expression, free belief, free movement, free choice and all the other articles of the Charter. Other Universal declarations of women, children, old age, minorities, the poor, environment ...etc are also out of doubt.

The problem is in practice. It is less universal. It is only applicable within the borders of Europe, to the Europeans and less to

the emigrants and the minorities and much less outside the borders, in Africa, Asia and Latin America where Human Rights are violated by the Europeans supporting dictatorship, exploiting natural resources to the extent of total occupation. In USA it is mostly applicable to the WASP not to other minorities.

Moreover, Human Rights are not the privilege of the West alone. They are in every culture in different forms and bases. Confucius is a champion of Chinese Human Rights by bringing the gods from Heavens to Earth, from the Book of changes ***I CHING*** to a human religion based on good inter-human relations between the citizen and his family, his neighbors, his fellow-citizens and his state. Buddha made the same thing in Hinduism, Socrates in Greece, Augustinus in the early Patristics. In Islam, the Human Being is the vice-gerant of God on Earth as well as in late scholasticism by free thinkers like Abelard, culminating in Descartes ***Cogito Ergo Sum*** and in Kant's Copernicean Revolution.

Human Rights are not only based on an individualistic concept of Right as it is the case in the Universal Declaration: nudity, homosexuality, abortion ...etc, but it may be also based on a communitarian concept of right, the right of the poor to the wealth of the rich in the same community, the right of the community to be free from occupation. That is why the famous Universal Declaration of human rights has been completed by another less famous Universal Declaration of peoples rights in Algiers 1977, the right for each people of self-determination. Cases now are visible: Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Chechnya ...etc. Since there is no right without duty and responsibility the famous Universal Charter has also been completed by the less famous Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities.

7- The West is also proud of its pluralism after the end of monopoly of Truth by the church, Aristotle, Ptolemeo or even the Arabs on the eve of Modern Times. Truth is perspectives, multifacets, opinions and views. In Islam also the right to differ is a

human right. Human Beings, cultures, languages, customs and manners and even nature is different. Diversity is the manifestation of Unity, Unity is the common share in diversity. The two movements in human life are real: from Convergence to Divergence, and from Divergence to Convergence.

Majority and minority are two quantitative concepts on which Western Democracy has been based. Once the majority is in power it can dictate its laws on the minority which contradicts human freedom as a component of Human Rights. In Islam, Majority and Minority are two qualitative concepts. Both are equal in Rights and Duties irrespective of the number. One Person is a whole *Umma*, like Abraham. A consensus would be incomplete even if one person dissents.

Homogenizing human beings is incompatible with the two principles of Pluralism and Individualism. Citizenship is the common share, private life-style is purely personal and diverse.

8- The West and Islam are not incompatible. Both reside on both shores of the Mediterranean; When the North is creative powerful knowledge is transferred to the South as during the Greco-Roman period and Modern times, and when the South is creative strong knowledge is transferred to the North as during the Islamic period from Baghdad to Grenada. The West was already in Islam once Greek culture has been translated into Arabic and became one of the sources of Islamic philosophy and science. The West was present a second time in the Arab and Muslim World since two centuries with a second translation especially from France and England of western culture into Arabic to the extent that the Western Model was adopted by Arab and Islamic Reformation and Renaissance in the last two hundred years and may be till now. Whether the point of departure was religion, Nature or the State the point of arrival was the same, the constitutional monarchy and the parliamentary and multi-party system.

Islam was also present within the West in Mediaeval Time when Arabic sciences were translated into Latin directly or through Hebrew in Toledo, Sicily Southern-Italy and even in Bizanse. The West knew the Greeks through the Arabs labeling Averrois as the Great commentator, al-Farabi as the second master, and al-Hazem as Ptolemeo the second.

Arabic and Islamic philosophy and science were one of the sources of Western modern times since late middle ages, Abelard, Siger of Brabant and Latin Averroism till the Reformation with its principles, ***Sola Scriptura*** and its free interpretation, the rejection of religious authority, and the freedom of the Christian. Martin Luther is a very good disciple of Islam.

The presence of Islam nowadays in Europe may be a second wave, the impact of Islam on Europe with new Ideals of Liberation, equality and normativeness which may rescue the European consciousness from its lethargy, anthropy, failure of nerves and nihilism.

9- There is no doubt that Muslims in Europe need self-education before asking the Europeans to re-educate themselves and be more tolerant. Muslim emigrants took western citizenships which require knowing the languages of states they are living in. They are required to be a part of the socio-political dynamics, members in the political parties and in the municipalities. They have to offer alternative thinking for mutual enrichment. They have to enter Western Societies by the front door: socio-political and economic process, not by the back door: seclusion, ghettos, customs and manners in the name of ethno-religious identity. In an extreme right wave, they will be the victims. Integration is not assimilation. Integration is based on pluralism while assimilation is westernization. The Ideals of the Enlightenment are new formulations of the Universal Intentions of Islamic Law. Muslim emigrants are recuperating their heritage by living in Europe, sharing the same Universal Values. If this happens, Islam will be no

more linked to these negative stereotyped images circulating in Western mass-media, in school textbooks and sometime in classical and contemporary Orientalism, linking Islam to terrorism, violence, dictatorship, violation of human rights, persecution of minorities, the gender issue, backwardness and the weakness of civil society.

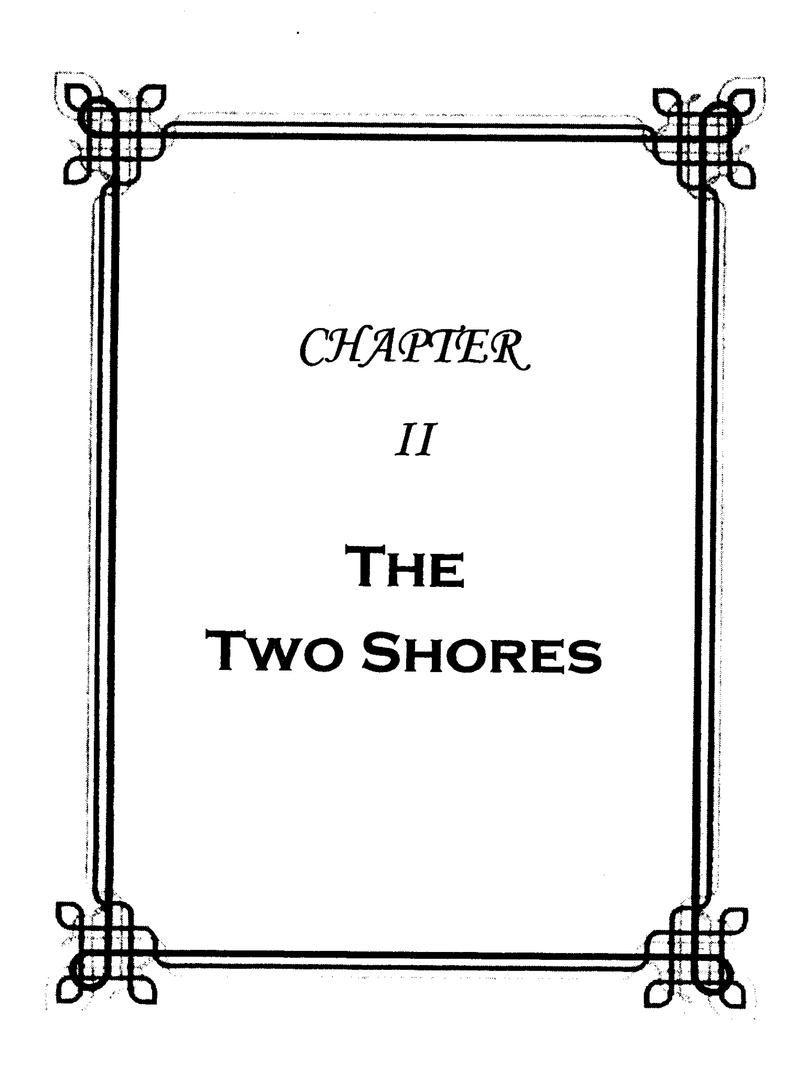
Muslims also are required to purify themselves from the stereotyped images they made of the West: Atheism, materialism, positivism, anarchism, skepticism, agnosticism, nihilism... etc. This is a part of the West, not all. There are some ideal systems such as German Idealism. Muslims have to read again Ghoete's ***Westliche-Oestliche Diwan***, to discover the glory of Islam from within Europe not only from outside, still dominating by historical conservatism and traditionalism.

10- There is no doubt that the Europeans also need self education before asking the Muslims to re-educate themselves. They need to discover their own soul, not to leave themselves to failure of nerves and to be discouraged by deconstructionism, post-modernism and nihilism. They have to rediscover their own Ideals of Enlightenment in a more universalistic version flooding its own boarders. They have to discover the sources of their own culture in Africa, like Egypt, in Asia, like Mesopotamia and in the East, Baghdad, and the West, Andalusia, and in the southern shore of the Mediterranean. A new blood has to be transferred to European consciousness for a second renaissance like Phönix. They have to get rid of the stereotyped images of the Self: Eurocentrism, complex of superiority, sole creativity and arrogance and learn again from Christ washing the feet of his disciples to give them a lesson of modesty and humility. ***Love dy neigbour*** would require to get rid of the stereotyped images the West built to caricaturize the other as black, colored, oriental despotism, Asian mode of production, ***France d'autre mere***, the commonwealth, the iron curtain, ***La méntalité primitive***, ***la pensére sauvage***, the barbarians and lately the axe of evil ...etc.

Equal partnership requires double education as mutual process for the self as well as for the other: Education of the self precedes education of the other. No one is a permanent and sole self and no one is a permanent and sole other. The Self and the Other are two sides of the same mirror, two images reflecting each other. The ***Ich***, the ***non-Ich*** can create an ***Absolute Ich***. Fichte may be Abraham resurrected.

These are the new ten commandments for self education and education of the other by a heir of Moses coming again from Egypt to the new Pharaohs of our Time on both shores of the Mediterranean, Islam and the West.





CHAPTER

II

THE TWO SHORES

Islam and the West

Clash or Dialogue?

I- Religion or Geography?

1- This title "Islam and the West" became so common in the last two decades to the extent that it became almost a slogan, an idiom and an epithet, a stereotyped title which dictates its own content and helps in expressing all possible prejudgments concerning the opposition between both sides of the title. The Islamic revolution in Iran till recent events in Washington and New York occurred in the 11th September substantiate such a title which corresponds perfectly to Western dualistic dichotomies: Form and Matter, Idealism and Realism, Rationalism and Sensualism, Deduction and Induction, Classicism and Romanticism, Individualism and communitarianism, Capitalism and Socialism, West and East, North and South ...etc. This dichotomy is always seen as an apposition leading to an opposition, to create a tension or a cold war between the two partners. The Self creates its own enemy in order to survive against the external threat coming from the other.

2- "Islam and the West" is a connection between a religion and a geographic region. Any comparison is between two entities from the same kind. Islam is seen as a religion not as a culture while the West is seen as a culture not as a religion. Subconsciously it may be understood that Judeo-Christian religion is at the very base of

(*) Cairo, AAUG, June 2002.

Western Culture. Besides what are the extensions of the West, Western and Eastern Europe, Russia, USA ...etc? What is the extension of Islam, from Morocco to China? Isn't Islam now the second religion in Europe and in USA? Islam is seen as a permanent substance identical to the stereotyped popular images about Islam including "One thousand and one night". The West is seen likewise including ***Pax Romana*** and ***Pax Americana***.

II- The Essence of Islam and the West and their diametrical historical courses

1- Islam has an essence distinct from stereotyped images in the Western mass media or in classical orientalism. Islam is a religion of reason and nature. Revelation Reason and Nature are identical. Islam is ***Religion Rationalis*** and ***Religion Naturalis*** par excellence. That is why Mathematical and Physical sciences prospered in Islamic Culture. Islam is also a religion of man and society. Revelation is an Intention from God to Man, being his vice-gerant on Earth. Man is free. He has his reason to distinguish between right and wrong. He has also his free will to choose the right not the wrong. The individuality of man is an outcome of his freedom, "I am free then I am". Society is one entity, which excludes inequalities and injustices. Islam is also a religion of progress, carrying the last phase in the long development of revelation since Abraham till Mohammed. Therefore, Islam is a religion of enlightenment based on reason, nature, man, freedom, social justice and progress.

2- The essence of the West is not that far. If enlightenment expresses the essence of the West, it is also based on the same ideals, reason, nature, man, freedom, equality and progress. The West in its modern times discovered Islam not by Revelation but against conjectural vehicles of revelation namely The Bible and the Church identified with Aristotle and Ptolemeo. What Islam discovered in Revelation the West discovered it outside and even against revelation. That is why Islamic modernism chose the model

of continuity between the past and the present, while the West chose the model of discontinuity.

3- However, in spite of this similarity in essence between Islam and the West they are dissimilar in the historical course. The West began its course twenty centuries ago. It passed through classical, mediaeval and modern times. While Islam began only since fourteen centuries ago. It had only two periods behind, classical during the first seven centuries and mediaeval during the last seven centuries. Islam came at the end of Western classical period. Its classical age corresponds to Mediaeval Europe. Its mediaeval age corresponds to Western modern times. When Islam was the master Europe was the disciple, and when Europe became the master the Muslim World became the disciple. Europe now is ending its modern times and does not know where to go, while the Muslim World is ending its mediaeval time and switching from Reformation to Renaissance.

III- Dialogue between Islam and the West: The Islamic Model

1- This dialogue occurred twice, once at the beginning of mediaeval time and the other at the end of scholastic time. At the beginning of mediaeval time, all Greek culture especially philosophy, mathematical and physical sciences were translated from Greek to Arabic directly or through Syriac by the Arab Christians in Syria. The Muslims commented, summarized, paraphrased major Greek works especially Aristotle, Galien, Euclide, Ptolemeo, Plato, Discorides, Theophantes...etc. Then they exposed, systematized and completed these works to make them more perfect, more global and more comprehensive. They gave Greek philosophers the most honorific titles: Socrates the wisest of all men, Plato the man of light and power, Aristotle the first master, Galien the best of all forerunners and late comers, and gave their thinkers modest titles: Al-Farabi the second master, Ibn al-Haytham the second Ptolemeo. Although Muslims were victorious on the ground they respected,

honorified and preserved the culture of the defeated peoples in Syria, Persia, India and Africa.

2- The second time was during the Andalusian symbiosis at the end of European Scholasticism and on the eve of modern times. There was one culture, a universal one with which every tradition, Islamic, Jewish and Christian identified. There is a universal worldview, God exist, the world is created and the soul is immortal. There is also a universal code of ethics, The golden rule multiplied horizontally as well as vertically, ***Logos*** and ***Praxis***, Belief and Action. The good deed known previously by Aristotle as the ***sumum bonum*** and by Kant as the good will is the only manifestation of faith.

3- That is why any comparison between Islam and the West has to take this anachronism in consideration. World cultures do not live the same historical moment. There is a difference between history and historical consciousness, between history and historiography, history and historicity. The West may be at the end of history, the end of Western modern time, as seen in Deconstructionism and Postmodernism. Islam may be at the beginning of history, the beginning of Islamic modern times as seen in Reformation and Renaissance.

IV- Clash between the West and Islam: The Western model

1- If Dialogue of civilizations as an Islamic model did occur twice with Western classical Greco-Roman cultures or classical Eastern Persia-Indian cultures, clash of civilizations as a western model did occur three times: ***Pax Romana*** during the Greco-Roman Empire, ***Pax Christiana*** during the Crusades and ***Pax Euro-Americana*** at the peak and the end of Western modern times. ***Pax Greco-Romana*** was begun by Alexander the great big project to conquer the East after dominating the West, from Greece to China passing by Egypt, Persia India and central Asia, and to form a

Universal Republic based on Greek Language, Culture and Worldview. He did not clash with ancient Egyptian, Persian or Indian civilizations. On the contrary, he considered himself in Egypt the son of Amon. That is why Muslim philosophers considered him as a Prophet preaching the Unity of God and even mentioned in the Qur'an as "the man with two horns", ***Dhu al-Qarnayn***. Historical Alexander wanted to unify the Ancient World under Greek hegemony, an early version of Globalization.

2- ***Pax Christiana*** did occur during the Crusades, a second form of Western invasion of the East under a religious pretext and a cover-up, saving the Holy Land and Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels. The Mediterranean Sea has to return a Christian sea as it was before a Roman sea. The Christian Empire was the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire. The second invasion did fail because the Muslim World was much more advanced in science and technology than the holy Empire. Islam presented a more universal code of ethics than that of the Crusades which was based on hegemony and bigotry.

3- ***Pax Europeana-Americana*** is a third Western invasion to the East not through the heartland or from the Mediterranean but through the oceans to surround the Old World. It was a continental invasion Westward to reach the transatlantic World that called the discovery of America as if Western Hemisphere did not exist before the arrival of the white man. The invasion went also Eastwards by South Africa and called "the Cape of Good Hope", hope of the Western expansion and misery for West, South and East Africa. Consequently, the widest destruction of indigenous peoples and cultures did occur as a result of the expansion of new Western modern Empires: British, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, Belges, Russian...etc. North America spoke English, French and Spanish and "Red" Indians were put in reservation. South America spoke Spanish and Portuguese. The destruction of indigenous cultures and languages was total. Africa became Anglophone and Francophone. The possibility of an African language such as

Sawahili or ***Zulu*** was almost nul. In Asia, India spoke English to link more than four hundred local dialectics not classical sysnsecrite or modern Hindi. The Islands in South-East Asia were called the Philippines according to the name of the Colonizer and spoke Spanish. A whole Continent, Australia, spoke the language of the British Colonizer. The Arabs, the Persians, the Afghans and some other Muslim peoples in Asia resisted such alienation and preserved their own languages.

V- The double significance of 11 September

1- Since the end of cold war in 1991, America became the only power in a World based on a uni-polar system. It based its defense on Star Wars, long range missiles, and weapons of mass destruction against a known enemy in a conventional war. It was taken by surprise, by the most simplistic way, hijacking civil planes and hitting the symbols of hegemony in modern times: WTO, the Pentagon and the White house, symbols of the International Market, the military industrial complex and political power. Power without justice is self-destructive. It was a good pretext for America to jump over Europe and reach Asia, sacrificing three thousands casualties in New York and Washington to swallow a whole continent having more than the half of World Population. America put its feet in Central Asia, building the biggest military base in Kazakhstan, being closer to the oil of the Caspian Sea, on the southern borders of Russia and China, to counterbalance the economic surplus of Japan, the economic achievements of South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore. It can avert the Asian Tigers performance and be a perpetual threat to Pakistan and Iran.

2- Everybody remembers 11 September 2001 making it a landmark in world history. No one does remember 28 September 2000, the beginning of the second ***Intifada***, left alone for two years, a new Palestinian holocaust. Somebody has to cry against power without justice, USA complete support to Israel, the incapacity of

Arab regimes and the frustration and the humiliation of the Arab and Muslim peoples.

After Afghanistan comes Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, The Gulf, Yemen, Sudan and Egypt. A new Fragmentation of the Arab and Muslim World to small ethnic and religious mini-states is planned in order that Israel would be the strongest ethnic and religious state, having a new socio-political legitimization from within the area since the old legitimization based on the Covenant and the Promised Land of the nineteenth century Zionism is no more credible. The whole area will be departmentalized to Sunni, Shi'i, Kurd, Arab, Berber, Muslim, Coptic and Christian states. This is the price of Globalization, the unity of the center and the dismantlement of the periphery.

VI- Clash of civilizations and the supporting concepts

1- Clash of civilization is not a simple concept but a composite one. It has other supporting systems, another set of subsidiary concepts such as globalization, the end of history, information revolution, the world as one village ...etc. Globalization is a new form of economic hegemony, a new legitimization of the market, competition and profit. End of history is also a new legitimization of Capitalism after the fall of Communism as if history stopped and time consumed. Information revolution is a new pretext to unify the world in the name of new technologies of communication, the world as one village and the laws of the market.

2- For the Arab and Muslim World other set of concepts are diffused: clash of civilizations, governance, civil society, minorities, human rights, and gender. Clash of civilization is the secret code of the Third World War. It is offered to the Third World as a trap to mobilize Afro-Asian peoples for war in defense of their own cultures and as a camouflage for the real war, the clash of interests. The West discontinued itself from its own tradition on the eve of modern times, presenting the most critical attitude, while peoples in Africa

and Asia are still attached to their traditions. They are even ready to sacrifice themselves for it. Governance is a substitute to Nation-State as if the states can be managed by functionaries of World Bank and IMF. National sovereignty is considered an old myth from the post-colonial era. Customs on foreign goods have to be repealed. All barriers for free trade have to be dropped. The drama of the Third World is the overwhelming power of the state on civil society. A strong civil society is the best guarantor for privatization and open-door policy. Minorities have to be protected against the dominant majority, a quantitative concept due to western concept of democracy and which does not fit Muslim societies that are based on qualitative concept of a pluralistic community, where all the sub-groups are equal partners in the global community. Human rights are used as a whip against any political regime who becomes disobedient to Western Powers. Finally, the Gender issue aims at splitting the national struggle into two, male and female. Each one considers the other as an enemy, although, both have a common enemy: oppression, authoritarianism, and exploitation. Both, male and female irrespective of gender have to fight, hand in hand, for a common concept, citizenship.

VII- Dialogue of civilizations and its agenda

1- Dialogue of civilization has another open and clear-cut agenda. First to continue the process of decolonization in Palestine, Seupta and Melilia in Morocco, Kashmir ...etc. The spirit of the fifties and sixties did not die out yet. The crownment of this heroic age was the "Universal Declaration of peoples rights" in Algiers 1977, based on a communitarian concept. Given the imbalance between rights and duties, between the West and the Rest, a new "Universal Declaration on human Responsibilities" has been declared, proposed by several international intellectuals and passed as a UN document in 1997. In the West there are more rights than duties while in the Rest there are more duties than rights. Freedom and Democracy are main inspirations in the Third World, not as an American Agenda imposed from outside but as an internal desire of

individuals and peoples, to enhance social and political progress, not as a support of Globalization as a free market economy. The unity of the Arab and Muslim World and sustainable development are still major objectives in the Third World to enhance economic independence as a prerequisite for political independence. Social Justice is still an objective given the huge class distinctions in the Third World. The rich is becoming richer and the poor poorer with the surmounting increase of corruption especially in the era of Globalization.

2- A dialogue between civilizations is only possible between two equal partners without a capital 'C' and small 'c's. With inequality case there could be no dialogue based on a mutual process of giving and taking but there could only be Transfer from capital C to small cs, a relation between master and disciples, between trainer and trainees, between the knowledgeable to the unknowledgeable. Because as there is still this dichotomy of center and periphery, Universal culture and local cultures, rational, scientific and human culture and magic, superstitious and theological cultures, no dialogue can occur. Dialogue of Cultures requires a pluralistic vision of culture.

3- A dialogue is not only theoretical but also practical. It expresses the balance of power between peoples and cultures. It is not a simple intellectual exercise but a mutual co-operation between peoples. The major theme is power and justice. Power without justice is self-destructive. Justice without power is humiliation, incapacity and frustration. Power is global, political, economic, social, scientific and cultural. Justice is also global. Power is might not right, while justice is right without might. How can the dialogue of civilization combine power and justice, power practiced by the center, and justice tremendously needed in the periphery?

VIII- From Orientalism to Occidentalism

1- The power of the West lies in its epistemological project, "I think then I am" which initiated modern times. The West played perfectly the role of the knowing subject, transforming the Rest as a

knowable object. The arrogance of knowledge began to be built in western consciousness. The West is the viewer, the Rest are viewed in Anthropological museums. It is possible to exchange roles, the Rest as a knowing subject and the West as a knowable object. As the West created Orientalism the non-West can create Occidentalism, to study this phenomenon called "The West", the sources, the phases, the structure and the future. It is helpful for the West to see its image in the mirror of the Rest, to be objectified and historicized as every other culture.

2- A dialogue requires also a process of mutual learning. Knowledge is not one way but double way, in-put and out-put, to give and to take for mutual enrichment. European Culture is the product of such process in history. It took from ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, India till China. A pure culture is a myth based on arrogance and race. An absolute miracle, Greek or otherwise, does not exist in history. There is no permanent center of creativity to disseminate everywhere.

IX- A new Historiography for Mankind

1- This new historiography is tremendously needed to rewrite the story of Mankind in a more just way for the sake of education of new generations. The first task of such historiography is to deconstruct the stereotyped images accumulated throughout history and motivated by non- scientific human passions. There is no new construct without a prior "deconstruct". The negative proceeds the positive. This double task would purify the hearts of new generations from rancor and resentment. Every culture will have its proper share in the making of the history of the world without amplifying modern times at the costs of prior historical cultures. The fruits do not forget the trunk and the seeds.

2- An honest and sincere dialogue of civilization may discover that humanity now is at crossroads, a radically different historical

phase, the end of modern times. The cycle of modern times may have come to a close in spite of new forms of hegemony, namely Globalization. A new cycle somewhere else may emerge. If the spirit of the world ***Weltgeist*** began in Ancient East, China, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and settled in Greece, Rome, medieval and modern Europe, blowing from the East to the West, it may blow again from the West to the East passing through Africa to Asia. This may explain the actual Islamic insurgence, the new tigers in Asia and the economic performance in China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore. The Middle East was a stop in both ways which explains the glorious Islamic Culture in the past and the actual promises of Islam. Eastwind from now on may succeed with Westwind already consumed. Without such a macro-historical analysis any dialogue of civilizations will fall into quick gains on the short run, but into permanent losses on the long run.



Islam and Westernization

I- Introduction: Phenomenology of Culture

The theme, Islam and the West, has been always studied by historians, philosophers, anthropologists ...etc. It became very common given the emergency of the time. The West is readjusting itself according to its radical changes after the fall of communism and Europe's need for a new enemy, sometimes found in Islam.

Throughout history, this theme, Islam and the West, has been and still is a living experience in the hearts of Muslims. It is an accumulated experience, century after century, and became a stand *vis-à-vis* the other. The other is perceived, conceptualized and then transformed to an image inciting a mode of behavior. By the force of repetition, the image became a stereotype and the mode of behavior became an attitude.

That is why the phenomenological method is the most suitable one to describe "Islam and the West" as an accumulated experience throughout history. First, it is a mass-experience since people lived "Westernization" in a broader sense, the presence of the West as a pole of attraction in their socio-political and cultural lives. Second, it is also a living experience by the élite as expressed in their writings. Third, it is a living experience of the writer as a scholar reading the tradition of the past in Islam and in the West, analyzing his own experience of Islam and Westernization in his own time.

(*) American Academy of Religion, May 1996, New Orleans, USA.

There is no need for a difficult technical vocabulary in phenomenology. A simple language helps in communicating the meaning perceived intuitively. Phenomenology after all is a theory of evidence similar to Cartesianism. The third volume of "Ideen" deals with "Klarungsmethode".

The material analyzed, first and secondary literature, original sources and general references, is also reduced to the minimum. It is important in content analysis, in textual criticism or in reading method. In phenomenology, it is a simple carrier of meaning. It needs to be deciphered. Facts are also put between brackets in order to perceive the essences.

The criteria of objectivity is the intersubjective experience, the experience shared by all, namely the author and the reader. The correspondence between experiences guarantees the correspondence between essences and facts, between meaning and reality, since this correspondence is the manifestation of "regional ontology" the unity of ***Eidos*** and ***Ontos***.

II- The Essence of Islam and the West

Before analyzing "Islam and Westernization" the question should be: What is Islam and what is the West, if analyzed phenomenologically? Since negation precedes affirmation, what Islam and the West are not precedes what Islam and the West are.

Islam is not a dogmatic religion. Dogma in Islam is a worldview, ***Tawhid***, which can be conceived by reason and substantiated in reality. That is why there is no mystery in Islam. God is One, the human being is one, society is one and humanity is one. Islamic creed can be proven by human reason: Essence, Attributes and Acts of God, Libre Arbitre, and Reason of Man, Prophecy, Eschatology is history, Faith, Action and social contract is man and society.

Islam is not a ritualistic religion to symbolize through gesticulation, remembrance or an invocation. Symbols have been deciphered. The good deed inherited all previous acts of sacrifice by humans or animals.

Islam is not an institutional religion. Belonging is not made to an authority interceding between man and God, but belonging is to be to the community and to the world. Man is completely free and individually responsible. He does not inherit the sin of anyone before him and he does not need any other to save him. He is born innocent and can save himself by himself.

Islam is not a historical religion. What occurs in history is not a form for Islam. Islam has a transcendental value system. It can be realized in the world through human action. ***Sole Scriptura*** is the source of Islam, not the tradition. History is not sacred. It is only the field of human action, its inclination towards perfection. However, Islam is a religion of progress, progress in history, given the gradual revelation according to different periods in history.

Islam is a natural religion. Islam confirms nature without denaturalizing or supernaturalizing it. Islam is only the perfection of nature, or nature tending to its perfection.

Therefore, Islam is a religion of reason, of good deed, of freedom of progress and of nature. Religion as inherited from history of religions may not be the best word to refer to Islam. Worldview, value-system, code of ethics or even ideology may be more adequate to its essence. Islam in a Western framework is a religion of enlightenment.

The essence of the West is twofold, a complex essence with two layers, one in depth and the other on the surface. The West in its deep level is ethnic or more bluntly, racial, egoist, where the self comes before the other in spite of Christian charity, and Eurocentric, which appears in modern Euro-centericism. The surface level

appeared clearly in the Enlightenment. When the West is on its own the deep level takes over. When the West is in relation to other cultures it opens and the surface level appears at least inside, if not outside, given the double standard in western behavior. Once the West was in relation with ancient Greece during the Patristics, a certain kind of Platonism dominated. When the West became in relation with Islam in late scholasticism, a new type of Islamic Aristotelism dominated. When the West is with itself discovering on its own the value-system always borrowed from abroad, once ancient Greece and another time medieval Islam, the philosophy of Enlightenment appears as the peak of Western consciousness.

III- The Self and the Other

Islam was always in relation with the Other. Inside, such as Jews and Christians, or outside such as the Greeks and the Romans Westwards or the Persians and the Hindus Eastwards. Inside, Islam is an idealization of Judaism and realization of Christianity, a universalization of Judaism without collective election and particular, material and unconditional Covenant, and a realization of Christianity making Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Islam is a genuine unity between Law and Love, between Law of the talion and Forgiveness.

Outside, Arab Christians translated Greek philosophy and science from Greek to Arabic, directly or through Syriac. Muslim theologians becoming philosophers summarized, commented on and read Greek philosophy. They expressed, criticized, and completed them. There was a presence of assimilation, an Islamization of Greek philosophy, not an alienation, a "Greecization" of Islam. Al-Farabi, united Plato and Aristotle, the ideal and the real, in one global vision. Socrates took the title of the wisest of all men, Plato the man of power and light, Aristotle the first master, Galien the best of the ancients and the moderns,...etc. The same thing has been done lately with Rome, especially the Stoics.

Muslims, including converts from Persian or Hindu religions, translated also the sacred or even profane books of Persia and India. Miskaweh translated, summarized, commented on and completed ***Khavid Nameh***. Ibn al-Muquaffa' translated Baidaba the philosophers tales of India, and Beiruni wrote his master piece "On India". The same ancient model occurred, the Islamization of Persia and India, not the Persianizaiton or the Indianization of Islam. This model, the Self absorbing the other, occurred because Islam was victorious on the ground. The Muslims were carriers of a universal civilizational project, the unification of the ancient world, the liberation of minds and souls, the equality of all human beings, the implementation of social justice and the affiliation of all to one universal code of ethics.

IV- Islamization of the Medieval and Modern West

A counter translation occurred in Medieval time from Arabic to Latin, directly or through Hebrew. Islamic Enlightenment was prior to Western Scholasticism. Islamic philosophy was behind the birth of medieval nominalism in the XI century (Roscelin), rationalism of XII century (Abelard), Aristotelism of the XIII century (Thomas Acquinas) and scientism of the XIV century (R. Bacon, Duns Scott, W. Occkam). Islamic model, the identity between revelation, reason and nature, was followed by scholastics generating a movement of early free thinkers who rejected mysteries.

Islamization of the West in modern times continued through reformation in the XV century in spite of the discovery of humanism in Belles-lettres in the XVI century. Protestantism defended some of the Islamic ideals: ***Sola Scriptura***, the rejection of the authority of religious establishment, the rejection of naturalism, a renaissance of Jewish formalism, the affirmation of free interpretation and individual responsibility. The purification of the church from the icons has been already done in the Oriental church in the V century before Islam, indicating the power of human reason to discover the authentic revelation and the realm of transcendence.

Renaissance in the XVI century was a continuation of Islamic humanism: The victory of the Moderns on the Ancients, the shift from Theocentrism to Anthropocentrism, from the soul to the body, from scripture to nature, from revelation to reason, from dogmatism to skepticism ...etc.

Rationalism and Empiricism of the XVII century were new points of departure in theory of knowledge through reason and senses. Rational and sensual evidence excluded obscurity and mysteries. ***Cogito ergo sum*** and ***Novum Organum*** were two criteria of verification as they were in classical Islam.

Enlightenment in the XVIII century was the peak of Western discovery of Islam by the power of Reason and Nature. Once the direct Islamic influence faded away, Islamic motivations took over since Islam is the religion of Reason and Nature. Ideals of reason, nature, freedom, social justice, progress ...etc. were expressing the spontaneous essence of Islam that human nature can discover on its own.

Positivism in XIX century was motivated by repugnance to metaphysics and the coming back to the real world with precision in the use of language. The hope in progress was unlimited and the victory of man on nature appeared to be unshaken. Both were two original Islamic motivations.

However, the crisis in the XX century occurred: Two world wars in half a century, the depression of the 1930s, the death of God in the beginning (Nietzsche) and the death of man at the end (R. Bart). Absurdity, Nihilism, Skepticism, Relativism, Agnosticism, Deconstructionism, Post-modernism ...etc. express the end of a culture, a failure of nerves and death in the soul. Islamic motivations disappeared in the West and appeared in the Third World in new forms: Decolonization, Development, Liberation, Non-alignment, and Self-determination, peoples rights completing human rights, the end of apartheid (South Africa) and Zionism (Palestine).

V- Westernization of Modern Islam

The West as a power and as a culture inherited Greece, Rome and Charlemagne. After the downfall of Grenada, the discovery of the New World westwards, Africa in the center and South Africa southwards, the West became a huge colonizing power through what is called "geographic discoveries". The ancient world, namely the Muslim world with the exception of China and Japan, was colonized. Portugal, Holland, Spain, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy came ahead in the process of colonization. Even Russia in central Asia followed the same pattern.

The Ottoman Empire, the Caliphate was the victim. It has been dismantled to several nation-states after the First World War. Some parts in the Muslim World were previously colonized in India, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Egypt and the whole North Africa. It should be mentioned that Western colonization was not only military and economic, but also cultural. The values of the colonizer were propagated creating a new élite in the colonized world imitating the colonizer. That was the beginning of Westernization.

Since the West defeated the Muslim World by modernism, science, technology, industry, urbanism, and even culture, most of the modernist trends used the same weapon of the colonizer "modernization" to fight back, by its own sword. Another Westernization occurred through decolonization. Both élites, the one co-operating with the colonizers and the one fighting it, were westernized. Westernization became equal to modernization. Modernization could not occur except through Westernization.

The three major trends in contemporary Islam adopted Western model of modernization: Reformism of Al-Afghani, Mohamed Abdou, A. Kawakbi, Ben Badis, Allal al-Fasi, the Indian school of A. Khan and Mohamed Iqbal; Liberalism of al-Tahtawi, A. Mubarak, Ahmed Lutfi al-Sayed, Taha Hussein, Mohamed Hussein Heikal and Al-Akkad, Kheir el-Din al-Tuinsi, Anwar Pasha, Medhat Pasha ...etc.; and Scientific Secularism of Sh. Shmayel, F.

Antoun, Y. Sarruf, S. Musa, I. Mazhar, Z. N. Mahmoud, F. Zakaria. The components of this model are: Freedom, democracy, constitution, parliamentary system, multi-party system, education, urbanism, industrialization, science, technology ...etc. The difference between the three trends lies only in the point of departure, not in the point of arrival, in the means not in the ends. Reformism begins from religion, Liberalism begins from the state and Secularism, Scientism begins from science. The three trends differ also in method. Reformism practiced the ***Ijtihad***, the re-interpretation of Islam according to the spirit of the time. Liberalism chose Western enlightenment combining it with Islamic classical enlightenment of ***Mu'tazilism*** in theology, ***Malikisim*** in Law and ***Averoism*** in philosophy. Scientific secularism especially of Sh. Shmayel and I. Mazhar projected Western science in the Qur'an and found human and social sciences also in the Qur'an and in Islamic classical disciplines. All three were selective either from the West: Liberalisim, enlightenment, science or from Islam: ***Mu'tazilism***, ***Averoism*** or ***Malikism***. A fruitful dialogue occurred between the three trends since they shared the same undercurrent source. A combination between two trends was possible: Reformism and Liberalism (Khaled M. Khaled), Liberalism and Scientific secularism (F. Zakaria), Reformism and Scientism (T. Gohari).

VI- Negative Impact of Westernization on Islam

After decolonization, the Westernization of the ruling elite became stronger. The establishment of the modern state and economic and social development were implemented by the help and assistance of the old colonizer. Since Westernization was equal to modernization, Westernization began to infiltrate all social *strata*, even education, culture and mass media.

As far as development was successful, the masses benefited from it: Food subsidies, low prices, public services, employment, satisfaction of basic needs... etc. When development was obstructed

and planning came to an end in the name of privatization and market economy, popular disenchantment began to rise. Neither Liberalism nor Arab socialism or rationalism nor Marxism was able to maintain self-reliant and sustainable development. People continued to be disillusioned with all secular ideologies of modernization. Since they all originated in the West, Westernization was held responsible for the failure of the ruling elite. A counter movement of Westernization appeared as one component of Islamic resurgence as a defense of Islamic identity against western alienation. As far as socio-political policies are pro-Western, Islamic fundamentalism gets stronger. The bifurcation between the Westernized ruling elite and the newly Islamized masses gets wider. In case of free election, the Islamic movements won the absolute majority (Algeria, Turkey) or the relative majority (Jordan). In case of falsification of election, Islamic movements lost (Tunisia, Egypt). Islamic movements can come to power by ***coup d'etat*** (Sudaii) or by popular revolt (Iran).

The West in the popular culture means: Atheism, materialism, anarchism, hegemony, exploitation, racism, capitalism and anti-Islam. Islam in the Western popular mind as presented in the mass media means: Fanaticism; terrorism, violence, bloodshed, backwardness, rigidity, barbarianism and anti-West. These two stereotyped images of the Self and the Other are still alive in both Islam and the West generating mutual misunderstandings and confrontations.

VII- From Westernization to Occidentalism

As far as the West is considered as a source of knowledge and as a model of modernization, Westernization will continue. The West creates and Islam transfers. The West produces and Islam consumes. The West writes and Islam translates. Through transfer of knowledge from the West to Islam, the gap is thought to be lessened. Indeed, the gap is widened. The rate of Western creativity is much higher than Islamic transfer. Finally, Islam receives a cultural shock and will be reduced to despair and will become more marginalized in history.

In modem times, a superiority-inferiority complex was created determining the relation between the West and Islam. The West, becoming the center of the world, felt superior. Islam, becoming colonized and then dependent and marginalized felt inferior. The dialectics of the Master and the Slave began to determine mutual perceptions and conducts of both sides. Islam is switching now from the slave status to the master status as it appears in Islamic fundamentalism, while the West is continuing playing the role of the old master (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chechnya, Palestine).

Both Islam and the West need time to be cured from such complex. Occidentals may be one remedy. If in Orientalism of yesterday, the West was the knowing subject and Islam the knowable object, in Occidentalism of tomorrow, Islam becomes the knowing subject, while the West becomes the knowable object. Islam is the observer and the West is the observed.

Occidentalism is a continuation of decolonization on the cultural level, the liberation of the soul and the mind from imitation and dependency. It helps in dewesternizing Islam, putting an end to inferiority-superiority complex. The West is deconstructed as a Universal culture, returning to its geographical borders, a historical culture like all other cultures. Islam is reconstructed in order to multiply the centers of creativity on equal terms. The West as an eternal master becomes a disciple and Islam as an eternal disciple becomes a master. This is the real challenge for the West in the XXI century and was for Islam in the XV century.

VIII- Historical Confrontation or Future Partnership?

As far as historical confrontation continues on the level of subconsciousness, from the Imperial Rome to Charlemagne, to the Crusaders, to modern colonialism, to the one polar World, the image of the West in Islamic subconsciousness, and Islam in Western subconsciousness is: Inheritance of Roman empire, occupation of Jerusalem, talking over Constantinople, threatening Europe from

Vienna till Spain, occupation of the Balkans, and the actual threat to European identity in France and Germany through Arab immigration or European conversion, as far as this historical and present legacy continues as living experiences in both sides, the model of confrontation will pursue. As far as the West considers freedom, democracy, human rights, secularism, pluralism its own privilege and Western culture as the only conceptual framework according to which all cultures have to be measured and judged, the confrontational model will continue. As far as Western culture is the center, a capital C, and all other cultures in the periphery small cs, Western culture is the only modem one while the others are archaic to be studied in Anthropology, Western modem times are for all cultures after the medieval time and classical time, the predication of Western culture is for all, the confrontational model will continue.

Islam and the West are not living the same period in history. Islam lives in the beginning of the 15th century, exactly in 1416, while the West lives at the end of the twentieth century in 1996. There are more than five hundred years of time between the two historical moments. The West is ending its modern times, begun five hundred years ago, while Islam is beginning its new times after closing down its medieval times since Ibn Khaldoun. Islam is now switching from Reformation to Renaissance, from Martin Luther to Giordano Bruno. A fair comparison between Islam and the West would be between Western passage from reformation to Renaissance and Islam now or between Western modern times in the last four centuries and classical Islam from the seventh till the fourteen century AD.

In the future, equal partnership can be hoped for between Islam and the West. A double-way process of give and take between two equal partners would substitute the one way relation between the West as eternal master and Islam as eternal disciple. Mutual learning is more enriching than transfer of knowledge between the haves and the have nots. Westernization of Islam in the southern shore of the Mediterranean and the Islamization of the West in the

northern shore will have a positive meaning for both sides. More science and technology from North to South, more universal values from South to North are needed. The Mediterranean can be the symbol of unity between Islam and the West, between kingdom of Heaven and Kingdom of Earth.



Fundamentalist Trends in Muslim and Western Societies

I- Preliminary Remarks

1- Historical surveys of human and social phenomena supported by factual data and statistical diagrams provide information but not knowledge. Events are not an object of science but the signifying events. Historicism was very detrimental to human and social sciences. Phenomenology tried to go beyond historicism, looking for a science of essences not a science of facts. The analysis of living experiences, individual and collective, the direct vision of essences, the verification of the existence of such essences in intersubjective experiences, the description of universal essences in regional ontology is another guarantee for a new type of objectivity. Understanding and sharing are two means of knowing.

2- Fundamentalism is a socio-political phenomenon not a religious one. Religion is only the form not the matter, the means of expression, not the thing expressed. Religion in both, Christianity and Islam is based on love and tolerance. Since religion is anchored in society, in a special setting it appears in a social context in time and in space. Anthropologists and historians, in good faith or in bad

(*) Evangelischen Akademie Loccum, vom. 17, bis 19, September 1993, 2nd ed. 1996. pp. 51-59.

faith, switch all the time from factual judgment to value-judgment, from ***de facto*** to ***de jure***, from the fact to the essence as if Christianity and particularly Islam as religions are responsible for fundamentalism as violent events. Nothing happens outside society and beyond history. However, nothing remains all the time in society and history without going beyond society and transcending history.

3- Fundamentalism is a general spirit, a common feature and a general trend in all societies and in all periods of history. It means a desire for self-identity, an affirmation of the Self once threatened by the Other, when the self feels alienated, going outside itself and becoming an Other. Fundamentalism in this sense is the revolt of the Self against the Other, of the indigenous against the exogenous, the principal against the subsidiary, the central against the marginal, a revolt which can be justified in principal, a legal revolt against an illegal situation.

However, each type of fundamentalism has its own context and may have opposite circumstances. Fundamentalism in the Western world appeared in different socio-political circumstances and a different historical context than that in Muslim societies. The revolt of the youth in May 1968 was all over the world in different contexts, the revolt against consumerism and patriarcism in Western societies and national humiliation and the revolt against the defeat of June 1967 in Arab societies. Fundamentalism is a converging phenomenon in diverging circumstances.

4- Fundamentalism cannot be even generalized within every culture and society, whether Western or Muslim. Within Western Societies there are many fundamentalisms as there are many societies. Fundamentalism in England is motivated by the overwhelming presence of Asians in London, in France against North Africans, Algerians in particular, in Germany against the Turks. In England fundamentalism is based on British traditional conservatism, in France on the right political wing, in Germany on the New Nazism, and in Serbia on racism. In Muslim Societies,

fundamentalism is generated by the failure of secular ideologies of modernization and the loss of national independence acquired through national struggle by previous generations, in different context in Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt and Sudan.

5- Fundamentalism is not only an academic subject but it reveals directly or indirectly some pre-judgments, pre-suppositions and a priori positions. This is clear from the title: "Muslim" versus "Western" while Muslim may be countered by Christian or Jewish, and Western may be also countered by Eastern or Middle Eastern. The choice of the label itself - Muslim as opposed to Western - makes Islam responsible for fundamentalism while Christianity is not. It makes also Christian fundamentalism more Western than Christian; Christianity is not responsible. The opposition of the label reveals an indirect opposition between the West and Islam. (Besides, let me ask to which side fundamentalism in Israel belongs, to the West, to the Middle East or to Judaism?)

II- Similarities between fundamentalism in Western and Muslim societies

1- Both fundamentalism in Western and Muslim societies are against modernism generally. In Western societies, fundamentalism is a rejection of most of the gains of modern times, the ideals of the Enlightenment. The critique against the tradition in the beginning of European renaissance was too strong. After five hundred years it created a reaction against modernism as Adorno showed in "Dialectics of Enlightenment", going back to the tradition. European consciousness moved back from reason to the destruction of reason, from criticism to dogmatism, from nature to pollution, from man to dehumanization, from the death of God to the death of man, from freedom to oppression, from individualism to totalitarianism and from progress to regression. Fundamentalism in Western society is a return to the origin. Religious fundamentalism is a return to scholasticism, patristics and primitive church. Political

fundamentalism is a return to the Imperial Rome and to European hegemony, discovering the New World and later on colonizing the Old World. Cultural fundamentalism is a return to the European pre-Christian religion, folklore, lifestyle and heritage.

Fundamentalism in Muslim societies is also against modernism as a form of alienation and Westernization. Indeed modernism in the Muslim world came from the West. It has been conceived according to the Western model imported from outside not as a natural development of the tradition coming from the inside. It is a rejection of the exogenous in defense of the indigenous. Modernism was imported by the ruling elite while the masses were still traditional. After successive failures of secular ideologies of modernization, liberalism, Nationalism, Socialism and Marxism, people became immune against modernism, seeing in their own tradition the only viable alternative.

2- Once modernism is rejected in fundamentalism, consequently, traditionalism is affirmed, even without criticism or nationalism. In Western fundamentalism, tradition came versus modernism, as ·itanism, integrism and even catharcism, looking for the integral and the pure. Returning to the soul may save the disintegration of the body. Modernism is breadth without depth, that generates traditionalism.

Fundamentalism in Muslim societies is also a self-defensive mechanism against modernism in the name of tradition. Since one millenarium Islamic tradition became monolithic, conservatist and even dogmatic. It lost its early pluralism, liberalism and criticism. Once the exogenous fails the indigenous takes over.

3- Both fundamentalisms use violence to implement their goals. Western fundamentalism particularly in Germany burns alive the Turks in their homes and factories. It would like to purify Germany from the non-Germans as the Nazi did with the Jews. In France Algerians were found drowned in the Seine. In London, Muslim districts are under attacks. Lately Serbian fundamentalism took the form of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Islamic fundamentalism is also using violence as a mass media campaigns since the trend gives us access to official press, radio and television to express ourselves. Violence is always reported in the front page as headlines. Violence also is directed against the state to discredit it in the eyes of the citizens. Violence is a sign of desperation based - by shooting a policeman a state's man or attacking the Copts proving the incapacity of the State to protect them - on the dialectics of all or nothing, total destruction before complete construction.

4- Both fundamentalisms are illegal movements and outlawed. Western fundamentalism in Germany is practiced by the illegal new Nazi movement. No Western state including America has legalized a fundamentalist political party. The right wing assumes such role. It is a general trend, a spirit, a daily practice in European consciousness, a residual from the pre-Christian era.

Muslim fundamentalism is also illegal in almost all Arab and Muslim countries except Iran, Sudan and Arabian Peninsula States, revolutionary fundamentalism or conservative fundamentalism. It is an underground movement in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The pretext is the constitution, which does not permit the establishment of religious political parties. The real reason is the open challenge to the states in free elections. The illegality of Islamic fundamentalist parties is indeed a self-defensive mechanism of the illegal royal and militarist states, both kingdoms and coup d'etats are not Islamic political regimes, since both are not based on free election. The sufferings of the people and the corruption of the State make Islamic fundamentalism illegal in front of the law, legal in the eyes of the masses. This double-edged weapon of deligitimising between the state and Islamic fundamentalism is mutually exclusive, two Absolutes colliding in the absence of dialogue.

5- Human rights in both cases are violated. Western fundamentalism violates human rights of individuals and socio-

ethnic groups. Equality of all citizens in front of the law irrespective of their origins is denied. There is the real and high citizen who has the right of citizenship versus the pseudo and illegal citizen, who is excluded from citizenship. This is the case in Germany, France, England, Serbia and Russia. The rights of socio-ethnic-religious groups are also denied as aliens. Indeed, The ideal of the melting pot in Western society is a myth.

Islamic fundamentalism also violates essentially individual human rights in the name of the application of Islamic law. Literally understood and oppressively practiced, even in private matters such as the dress code. Violation of rights of religion or ethnic minorities is intended to weaken the state which incapable of protecting its own citizens, and to discredit the ruling regime.

6- Both fundamentalisms are monolithic. They reject dialogue and compromise. They are absolutists and dogmatic. Western fundamentalism is a radical movement, an extremist trend which may appeal to a relativistic culture, in a spiritual vacuum and the absence of vocation. It is a part of European counter-cultures, a rejection of Western liberal ideals, loose and undifferentiated. Tolerance is seen as a sign of weakness while bigotry is a sign of strength.

Islamic Fundamentalism shares the same feature, unilateralism, the rejection of alternatives and the absence of dialogue. In fact, it is a counter-unilateralism against the state's monopoly of power. Unilateralism is a practical expression of puritanism. Islamic groups are always split in fractions looking for the absolute pure. Families and societies are split between authentic and inauthentic, the legal and the illegal, the good and the evil, the right and the wrong. That Manichaeism ends in bloodshed and physical liquidation.

7- Fundamentalism is a double-way movement in history, backward and forward, primitivism and futurism. Western fundamentalism looks backward to the purity of the Germans, the Francs or the Romans, and to an original status before the original

sin. Development is profanation of the original purity. At the same time Western fundamentalism is very active, even as a minority, with huge confidence in the future and the forthcoming victory. The original purity can return in the future.

Islamic fundamentalism is also looking to the past golden age when Islam was in the hearts and in societies. History developed in the wrong way, a deviation from the right path. Moving foward is moving backward towards the glorious past. At the same time, Islamic fundamentalism is very hopeful and confident in the future. Victory is at hand and martyrdom is the shortest way to victory.

III- Dissimilarities between fundamentalism and Muslim societies

1- Since fundamentalism, as a certain kind of dogmatism and unilateralism, is lacking dialogue and alternative views it hurts freedom of thinking and freedom of expression, for the self and for the other. Fundamentalism in Western societies takes license for the freedom of the self but denies such freedom to the other. It lives in a free society, having the freedom of expression. It can publish, advocate and convince. While fundamentalism in Muslim societies is born in a society that denies freedom of expression to the opposition. Fundamentalism in this case is a cry for freedom, a rejection of dictatorship and a confrontation with oppression by counter-oppression.

2- Western societies are affluent societies. Fundamentalism is not an expression of poverty but of wealth. It is rather luxury. Its members are well off. The right wing is usually rich. On the other hand, fundamentalism in Muslim societies is an expression of a miserable socio-economic situation. Its members are illiterate or half-literate, unemployed and from the margins of society. They live in parasite cities. Religion and drugs here play the same function, an illusory satisfaction of the deprived, from nothing to everything, from the wretched of the earth to the prince of the world. While

Western fundamentalism is coming from the center of society Islamic fundamentalism is coming out of its periphery.

Once there is a social deadlock, religion becomes a flight such as drugs or immigration. Religion is an upward flight, while drugs are inward and immigration is outward.

3- In Western societies, fundamentalism is essentially racial. It is the defense of a race against another, white against black, German against non-Germans, French against non-French, British against Asians etc. It is based on ethnicity like any racial ideology. Fundamentalism in Muslim societies is ideological based on a belief-system unifying all nations and communities under the same universal code of ethics. On the contrary, in Islamic fundamentalism, whites and blacks, nationals and foreigners, Greeks and Barbarians are all unified in one community. Piety is substituted to race, the good deed is the only criteria of distinction between individuals.

4- Western fundamentalism is essentially against the presence of foreigners. Each Western country wants to keep itself integral, pure and homogeneous. The foreigner with his customs and manners, with his religious practices and rituals, with his lifestyle and even physical appearances is an extra, an abnormality and a surplus. Fundamentalism in Muslim society is on the contrary for all nationals against the state, the illegal state, the usurpation of power. There are no foreigners but they are all brothers and sisters in God. Even religious fundamentalism in the West is also anti-Foreigner. The difference between political and religious fundamentalism in Western societies is not that big. Klu Klux Klan is a good example. It is even recommended in Islamic fundamentalism to recruit foreigners in any activity to prove in practice Islamic universalism, such as in *Hamas* in Palestine.

5- Fundamentalism in Western societies is against all forms of universalism, political or religious such as totalitarianism, internationalism, capitalism or socialism or even liberalism as universal ideologies. It begins by the particular, the national and

even the chauvinistic. The Soviet Union was dismembered by political fundamentalism and is still going on in a process of an unending dismemberment. Yugoslavia, Czech Republic, the Baltic States, the Basques, the Irish etc. are just few examples. Fundamentalism in Muslim societies goes just in the opposite way of unification not particularization, in the name of the one ***Ummah***. Nationalities are only forms of folklore not political identities. Pan-Islamism or even Pan-Arabism are only to contemporary forms of Islamic internationalism. A co-ordination between fundamentalists in Iran, Sudan, Algeria, Tunis, Egypt etc. is even a religious duty given the type of communal struggle in a unified front.

6- In Western societies fundamentalism is not a wide spread movement. It is still not a threat. Neither the masses nor the governments are caught in it except in Eastern Europe and may be Russia. It is a seductive appeal to the youth and to some of the old guard. It is still a minority however active it is. While fundamentalism in Muslim societies is a widespread phenomenon in the masses and even in state apparatus, it is as common as social grievances and voices of dissent. Islam has become the only active and efficient vehicle of protest. All big public demonstrations are initiated and directed by Muslim fundamentalists. Most of all elections in student, workers and professional unions are won by Islamic movements. The weakness of all secular opposition parties such as the liberal and the national socialist parties open the doors to Islamic opposition to be the only visible movement on the streets.

Fundamentalism in Western societies is not in power. It is only a socio-political movement, minority as it is in some European countries, harassed and sometimes theoretically outlawed and practically tolerated. But it is a state of mind in European consciousness, a mass attitude, a perception in a global Western Weltanschauung. Political conservatism such an Thatcherism plays its role in anti-foreigners policies in generally and Asians in particular.

Fundamentalism in Muslim societies is ruling in Iran and Sudan, radical, active revolutionary in the first and conservatist in the second. It is also ruling in Arabian Peninsula with the exception of Yemen used as a cover up under the slogan of the application of Islamic law to hid the most pro-American and autocratic regimes. They are eligible to be on power in Algeria and Tunisia.

These seven similar features and seven dissimilar features between Western fundamentalism and Muslim fundamentalism are like the seven fat cows eating the seven meager ones in Joseph's dream in Egypt. Future history can only tell if this dream is hallucination or reality.



Islam and Globalization

A Reflexive Analysis

1- Definitions and methods

Beginning by a terminological analysis requires the definition of two words: "Islam", "Globalization" and the conjunction "and", two substances and one relation. Logic of substance may be easier than logic of relation.

Given the abundance of literature on Globalization filled by hundreds of statistical tables and diagrams, this chapter is a classical 16th century renaissance type of writings such as those of Montaigne, depending on reflexive analysis or phenomenological description of living experiences of a Muslim scholar living in the Third World in the era of Globalization, and still carrying the spirit of the sixties's liberation movements. The nostalgia of the past is a psychological structure in traditional societies.

Simplicity is a virtue beyond complexity. Direct style for direct communication is more adequate to intuitions than abstract theories and modeling. Sharing one experience in an intersubjective one is a high degree of objectivity; Apologetics is not a science, while sympathy is a prerequisite for common understanding.

Islam can be understood on two levels. First, there is the factual historical level mostly dealt with by historians, sociologists,

(*) Cosmopolis, Democratizing Global Economy, 2-4 June 2000, Helsinki (Theory, Culture and Society).
Globalization, Aarhus, Denmark 2001.

anthropologists and political scientists. Islam is what is going on the ground in the Muslim World, at its center in the Arab World, or at its periphery in Africa, Asia, America, Europe and Australia. Islam is what is, not what ought to be. This level of analysis is a methodological error stemming out of the confusion between fact and essence well distinct in phenomenology. The fact is only the carrier of essence. It is the sign, not the significance. This error is also due to an unconscious parallelism between Christianity and Islam. Christianity is a product of history since the formation of the Gospel till the codification of the creed. Christianity is a historical religion. There is no distinction between Christianity and Christianism, between essence and fact. The same thing can be said about Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shamanism and all "primitive" religions without any value-judgment. Islamic scholarship, in the west called "Orientalism" carried in by Judeo-Christian scholars, was the victim of historical reductionism.

The second is the basic level which underlies its implementation in society and history. It can be apprehended from the Qur'an, a historically authentic document since it did not pass through a period of oral transmission. It is understood from the text and felt in the human experience.

The risk of such analysis is the utopian thought, describing Islam as wishful thinking, as an ideal type, rather than a factual Islam, a dialectical one, a part of world history.

Globalization likewise can be understood on two levels. Firstly, on the ideological level as a system of ideas, a value system or as an ideology, a last form of hegemony expressing the power of Eurocentrism in modern times. This is the role of the philosopher of history. Secondly, on the economic level which shows the development of capitalism, the multinational corporations and the information revolution in the one polar world.

A double analysis is needed of comparative nature for both Islam and globalization on the two levels: ideological and historical.

Islam first is described as a Unitarian ideology compared to globalization as new totalitarianism. Second, globalization is described as a historical phenomenon in Western consciousness from ***Pax Romana*** to ***Pax Americana*** compared to Islamic universalism as appeared in history.

A double yardstick is also needed. Islam as an ideology and value system is taken as yardstick to compare globalization as an ideology; then globalization on the historical level is taken as a yardstick to compare Islamic history. A supra and neutral yardstick may be impossible. Commitment in scholarship is no less productive than impartiality as Max Weber describes in ***Wirtschaft als Beruf***, and Fichte also in ***Bestimmang des Wisseuschafflern***. Commitment is different from apologetism as logic is different from rhetoric.

There is no one view on Islam and globalization. There are different schools of thought in Islam and even opposite views on globalization. Every school has its legal foundations, scriptural and factual arguments. Therefore, there is no standard position on Islam and globalization.

In one view, Islam is seen as a capitalist system based on free trade and profit, provided that it is a reasonable, descent and honest one, without exploitation, monopoly, and all forms of usury is a real motivation for human and even religious action. It is profitable to be good on earth, to earn a better lot in heaven. Globalization in this case as free market is acceptable provided that the alms are paid.

A second school of thought sees Islam as a socialist religion based essentially on public property, social justice and labor as source of value, to each according to his needs. Any surplus is invested for public use in the interest of the community. In this case, globalization is incompatible with Islam since it is based on profit, usury, exploitation, monopoly, given the popular uprisings in Seattle and Geneva.

2- What does Islam mean?

Islam as an essence can be defined as transcendence, reason, nature, freedom, social justice and progress. The first three components pertain to logos, while the second three pertain to praxis.

Transcendence etymologically means always going beyond in order not to fall into anthropomorphism of the principle or into dogmatism, a confusion between "Truth" and its formulations. It motivates human reason to look further, to seek more for an unlimited progress of science. This transcendence is the basis of Islamic universalism, the Islamic universal code of ethics, piety and the good deed, and in the Islamic universal culture which perfected ancient cultures, Greek, Roman, Persians, Hindu and later on African and even Euro-American, carried on by Muslims in Europe and American. Aristotle was completed by Plato and Plato by Aristotle and both by Socrates. Roman skepticism and eudemonism are corrected by stoicism. Persian dualism was supplemented in Islamic Unitarianism. Hinduism was perfected by autonomous morality away from divine pluralism. The Transcendence is also behind the Islamic model of unity of morals and diversity of cultures, languages, customs and manners.

Globalization also goes beyond nations, to international market and world trade as financial organizations which Garaudy calls "*le monothéisme du marché*". It is a unity of interests not a unity of value, a hegemonic unity by imposing the laws and institutions of the Western capitalist world on the non-Western world. International socialism yielded to international capitalism. The United Nations is used as a legal power and NATO as a military power against those who reject to be part of the whole. Individualism which was once the honor of capitalism is now yielding to collectivism which was once seen as totalitarianism during the era of the bi-polar world.

Reason means the power of proof and demonstration. Reason is also human evidence and natural light. In case of an opposition

between reason and scriptures, reason prevails. The existence of a thing is equal to its proof. Anything which cannot be proved cannot be believed in. There is no irrationality, non-nationality or absurdity. Reason was behind the foundation of mathematical sciences in Islamic culture. God is not a mystery. His essence, attributes and acts can be proven by human reason. An arbitrary election of God of a special people promising material promises: land, city, temple, victory without being conditioned by piety and good deeds is against human reason. The particular, one-way, unconditional, material and collective covenant is against reason while the universal, two-way, conditional, moral and individual one is to conform to reason.

Reason in globalization is the instrumental reason described by Habermas, a "mercantile" reason to discover the laws of the market and an "industrial" or "experimental" reason which appears in technology and finally the formal reason as a closed system embedded in Automation. It is a practical reason, to organize not a theoretical one to reach the truth per-se. Knowledge became information and codification.

Nature also reveals the same truth as revelation and reason. Reason itself is a natural light. Nature is also a rational nature. Nature is at the same time limited and unlimited, real and ideal, rational and moral, a movement towards perfection. Nature is good, whether physical or human. There is no evil in nature, an original sin. Evil is a moral misjudgment based on human passions. It is an illusion not a reality. Islamic law is a natural law based on human needs and capacities. It is also based on public interest and welfare. It is a "positive" law anchored in reality. The universal five intentions of the law: life, reason, objective truth, honor and public wealth, are similar to the universal human rights combining individualism and communitarianism, individual rights and peoples rights, human rights and human responsibilities. Nature was also behind the foundation of natural sciences in Islamic culture.

Nature in globalization is the material nature, the raw material, the spoiled nature. It is also polluted nature in spite of all measures taken and universal declarations to protect nature against human misuse.

Human freedom is the prerequisite of individual responsibility. The omnipotence of God and the macro-cosmos do not prevent human freedom on the micro-polis. Since reason can distinguish between right and wrong, human will can choose freely the right, not the wrong, if motivated by the good intention. Man can save himself by himself. As no one can sin for him, no one can save him. Islamic first declaration of intent is a double act of consciousness, a negative one "La Ilaha", rejecting all kinds of pseudo-gods such as: fame, power, wealth, sex ...etc, and a positive act affirming the equality all human beings, in front of one universal principle.

In globalization, human freedom is expressed in the free market based on profit. It may go to the extent of exploitation and monopolization. It is the freedom of the center, the G-8, the super-industrial nations. It is a one way freedom, from the center to the periphery, from the producer to the consumer. If the periphery produces it is not free to export to the center without knowing the periphery files of human rights, children rights, women's rights and democratic political institutions.

Since Islam combines individualism and communitarianism, social justice is not only implemented by the alms but by a just distribution of national wealth on an egalitarian base without any discrepancy between rich and poor, between the haves and the haves not. Public sector pertains to public interest such as agriculture, industry and natural resources. Ownership is only a trust, a deposit. Man has the right to spend not to accumulate, to use not to misuse and to benefit not to exploit or monopolize.

In globalization, social stratification becomes stronger. The rich gets richer and the poor gets poorer. With privatization, businessmen forming a new class, the free transfer of the national

capital, speculations in the stock market, the lack of liberal values, corruption, consumerism, equality and social justice disappear.

Islam finally is based on a progressive worldview. Revelation progressed from Adam till Mohammed according to the level of progress of human consciences. Law changes according to the time change, known as abrogation. ***Ijtihad*** is a continuous renewal of the Law according to new circumstances, to update leaving out the obsolete. Progress is the linkage between creation, the point of departure, and resurrection, the point of arrival. Eschatology is a certain kind of futurology as philosophy of hope.

Globalization is linked to the end of history as if time stops. Capitalism became victorious after the downfall of socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. Globalization is the last stage of cosmopolitan capitalism.

3- What does Globalization mean?

Globalization is the ideology of cosmopolitanism as hegemony is the ideology of globalization. All such terms as: universal, global, cosmopolitan ...etc. mean European or Western; the reduction of the whole to one of its parts, given the power of the center on the periphery. The world is one market and one producer and the rest transfers and consumes. It means transforming the center to one multinational corporation. It goes beyond nation states to global governance. The unity of the market imports one value-system, the consuming one.

Islam created during European Middle Ages a cultural globalization unifying Greco-Roman culture in the West with the Indo-Persian culture in the East into one human culture. Aristotle is the First Master, Socrates is the wisest of all men, Pythagoras is the Divine philosopher, Plato is the owner of the light and power, and Galien is the best of all ancients and modems. ***Tawhid*** means the monotheism not of the market but of the universal code of ethics.

Globalization is not only an economic, political or cultural phenomena, but it is also a historical one since the division of the world to Greek and Barbarian, developed and underdeveloped, white and black, rich and poor, colonizer and colonized, powerful and weak, civilized and primitive, free world and iron curtain ...etc.

Islam is a universal code of ethics, an egalitarian view of society, a "society of equals". All human beings are free and equal by birth, namely by nature, socialization means naturalization through natural law namely the ***Shari'a***.

Since the passage of the spirit of the world from the ancient East to the modern West, the modern West began to be the center of the world in modern times since the 15th century called "geographic discoveries" as if the ancient world in America, Africa and Asia did not exist before the arrival of the white man; a confusion between knowledge and existence. Europe tried in the Middle Ages to conquer the East through the Mediterranean under the pretext of saving Jerusalem and to put an end to Islam as the center of the world but did not succeed. It renewed the same intention in the 15th century under the pretext of science and knowledge to surround the ancient world from the oceans and occupy the coastal lands as a footstep to the heart land.

This happened after the failure of the Crusaders from the heart of the ancient world, the Mediterranean, to occupy the Muslim world by invasions from the West to the East, to recuperate the colonies of the Roman Empire in North Africa, Southern Europe and Western Shore of Asia, Palestine, under the pretext of liberating the Holy Land.

In the 16th century, Europe was busy with the reformation process, the basis of its modernization. Europe was rearranging the house from within before going out to the rest of the world, depending on new models of thinking and knowing seen in the East from the Islamic culture namely, the identity between Reason and

Nature which produced Galileo, Kepler and Newton, and the identity between Reason and Society which produced the social contract.

Mercantilism took over in the 17th century, and the trade between the ports of the Mediterranean played a cosmopolitan role between East and West as the old Silk Road in Asia. European fleet began to move around the lands from the seas. A new mercantile globalization began to appear similar to actual globalization, the world as a market by sea, the old from the communication revolution. The universalization of the theoretical reason coming out of Islamic culture switched to a practical reason. Reason to liberate in Islam became Reason to dominate in the beginning of modern times in the West.

The French revolution in the 18th century was a model of a cultural cosmopolitanism. Every nation had to adapt to the principles of the French revolution: ***Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*** for the whole world to becomes ***une Republique Universelle***. Under this cover, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Europe and Russia. Cultural hegemony began by ***une mission civilizatrice de L'Europe***. The principles of enlightenment are for all. They have universal values. At the same time, France occupied Algeria in 1830. England had already destroyed the Mongol Empire in India. The Dutch were in South Africa, Spain and Portugal in South East Asia. Africa and Asia, after the Americas, constituted the vital space of European hegemony.

The Universal Republic was an Islamic model. The principles of the French Revolution expressed Islamic universal code of ethics expanding to Europe in the beginning of modem times and coming back to Islam through modern Islamic Renaissance in the writings of al-Tahtawi, Adib Ishaq, Abdallah al-Nadim, Taha Hussein, Mohammed Hussein Heikal, and Kheir al-Din al-Tunsi. Egypt for Napoleon was the link between East and West, the center of the world.

The 19th century was the peak of Western hegemony, manifesting in colonialism and imperialism, combining trade, land and cultural

domination. Practically the rest of the ancient world had been under the hegemony of the new world. New times took over classical times. The British destroyed the Mongol Empire in India and stretched the British Empire on different bridge heads in Hong Kong, Eden, Gibraltar ...etc, the Dutch and Portuguese were coming to South East Asia, the French occupying Algeria in 1830, and the rest of North and Central Africa later on.

Hegemony was not only of a unfied Europe against "Overseas territories" but also within Europe by the Austrian Empire, then by Germany twice in two world wars in the first half of the 20th century. Racialism meant ethnicity based on secularity expressed the depth of western hegemony. The Turks were expelled out of the Balkans and the rest of Eastern Europe. However, Islam was adopted and became the base of national cohesion till the breakup of the modern Yugoslavia. Unity within Diversity and Diversity within Unity was an Islamic model which protected different ethnicities from colliding in Eastern Europe, Central, South and East Asia, and North, Central and South Africa.

"League of Nations", then "United Nations" expressed the balance of power in Europe after the first and the second wars. In the last decade, after the collapse of the socialist bloc, the uni-polar world headed by USA manipulated the so-called International world system to implement its own hegemony by invasions, embargoes, military bases, alliances and threats.

After the fall of the socialist regimes in early 1990s, capitalism which was eager to find a powerful ideology as socialism found Globalization as an ideological justification of the uni-polar system and in the name of new myths such as: market economy, free trade, information revolution, communications technologies, governance, civil society, human rights, gender, ethnic minorities, end of history, clash of civilizations. New idols emerged: WTO, GATT, WB, IMF, G-8 ...etc, magic initials and symbols of the new world balance of power.

Globalization is not only an economic and political phenomena, but also a cultural one, diffusing consumerism and hedonism as universal values. Without consumerism production stops. Consumerism is linked to a complete value-system such as profit, wealth, power, success, fame, abundance. Corruption, organized crime, aggression and even wars may be the natural outcome of such value-system in practice.

Globalization as a new manifestation of Euro-centrism that practices the double standard in dealing with the periphery, maximizing the exports of the industrial world and minimizing its imports, maximizing the imports of the less-industrialized word and minimizing its exports. Children are not permitted to work in the periphery but minority groups and immigrants are to work in the center as cheap labor. Violation of human rights in the periphery is not permitted while violation of immigrants' minority rights in the center is very common. Sanctions are imposed by the powerful on the weak.

Therefore, Globalization is not a recent phenomena. It expressed the very depth of Euro-centrism, based not only on military, economic and scientific supremacy but on cultural and ethnic particularism coming out of an acute sense of race and color.

Globalization is not a one-way movement, the world as a global village, but rather a double way movement: consolidation of the center is accompanied by fragmentation of the periphery; the construction of the center and the dismantlement of the periphery at the same time. In the era of globalization, Yugoslavia was divided, Iraq and Libya were put under embargo and sanctions were imposed, Iran and Sudan threatened, Indonesia, India, Malaysia, are coming down the road. Even Regionalism is rejected for fear of forming an independent pole antagonistic to the G-8.

The information revolution is for the center, withholding information is for the periphery since information is power. Anti-trust laws for the center, monopoly of big companies for the periphery. In Islam, dissemination of knowledge is for all. Islam carried on the mission

of ancient cultures, Greco-Roman in the West and Indo-Persian in the East and reformulated them in a new culture expressing Islamic worldview. Knowledge is for all outside intellectual property as a common human share.

If the periphery accepts the rules of the games and take globalization seriously, to compete in industrialization and in the market economy the center will topple down the new achievement in the periphery and gamble in the stock market as it occurred in South East Asia. Multiple centers of creativity in Islam are spread out all over the Muslim world. Islam is equal to Learning. The first Quranic verse is "Read". Withholding knowledge is a big sin. Knowledge is for use, for human welfare. It is a Divine Attribute, common and universal.

Mass-demonstration against globalization in Seattle, Davos, and Prague indicate that socialism is returning even as utopia. Capitalism has not the final word in world history. If the last decade at the end of the second Millennium was the end of social aryanism and to totalitarian, socialism, this decade, i.e. the beginning of the third Millennium, may be the revolting decade against capitalism and globalization as the refined form of hegemony. Islamic upsurgence is only one of the indicators that history did not end, that a new world of justice and honor is coming. The fall of socialist regimes does not mean the end of socialism but the collapse of Darwinism and Totalitarianism. Human ideals of justice, equality and freedom are eternal values as far as humanity survives.

4- History, one course or many?

The conjunction "and" in "Islam and Globalization" is very common in many other titles such as: "Islam and science", "Islam and development", "Islam and human rights"،"Islam and gender", "Islam and civil society", "Islam and modernism", "Islam and post-modernism", "Islam and the West", ...etc. It does not mean a comparison

between two equal partners. Subconsciously, it takes the second part of the equation as a yardstick, a measure and a norm on which the first part of the equation is judged. The first is the matter, the second is the form. The purpose is not to compare but to judge, not to question but to answer, not to look but to affirm. The second part is unquestionable, uncritical and a simple given. These are the outcome of modern times, new absolutes. The first part is the "unmorph" the questionable, the doubtful and the strange. The second part is the self, the first is the other which has to be judged by the self. The first is the object which lies to be seen by the second as the subject. The answer, may be before research, is negative. How Islam can cope with modern times. Islam is more linked to violence, terrorism, underdevelopment, male-society, mysticism, dictatorship, patriarchy, militarism, medievalism ...etc.

Islamic view on globalization is a third world view, the defense of the periphery in Africa and Asia against the new form of hegemony of the Center. It is a rational view defending those who have not against those who have, the decolonized against globalization as a new aspect of recolonization. It is also based on the public welfare, the source of Islamic law. Globalization as indicated by anti-globalization demonstration in Seattle, Davos, Geneva ...etc in the Third World enriches the Rich and impoverish the poor.

The conjunction "and" in this linkage between "Islam" and "Globalization" as two substances leads to the following question: Is there one historical course for mankind or several courses?

Globalization as a historical process in Europe pertains only to one period of European modern history, not that of the whole world, especially the ancient one, China, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Canaan and Egypt. Each culture has its own periodization [1]. All of them precede Greece and Rome, back to three, four, five, six or seven millennia.

(1) H. Nakamura tried to show this multiple periodization in his book "Parallel Development".

The third world, which was once the balance of power between the two blocs during the cold war, was successful during wars of independence but less successful in building the new states, which became more and more dependant on the old colonial power.

The Muslim world synonymous to the Afro-Asian world is the heart of the third world. In its recent history it was colonized, decolonized and recolonized. The problem is how to make a second wave of decolonization on the scientific and cultural level. Here comes the importance of dialogue among civilization. Therefore, Globalization does not fit the periodization of the new nation states.

Islamic culture in the so-called mediaeval times was once the center of the world; a global culture from Andalusia to China, from Turkey to South Africa. Centers of learning were everywhere as they are in Europe nowadays. It went through 1st century Hijri till the 7th which correspond to mediaeval Europe from the 7th century to the 14th century. In this period, Islam was the center and Europe was the periphery. Islam was the creator of science and knowledge while Europe was transferring and consuming.

The second period was just the opposite. Islam and Europe switched roles. Islam began its mediaeval time from the 7th century till the 14th century Higri, the Ottoman period, while Europe began its modern times from the 14th till the 20th century: ***Retour aux belles letters*** in the 14th century, reformation in the 15th century, renaissance in the 16th century, rationalism in the 17th century, enlightenment in the 18th century, positivism in the 19th century, and existentialism in the 20th century. Europe produced new sciences and created new models while the Muslim world transferred and consumed.

The third period is a futuristic one, from the 14th century to the next seven centuries in which Islam modern times begin and western modern times ends. Globalization may be the last light of Western modem times before the eclipse, a cover-up to hide the internal

contradictions and the near collapse of capitalism in the far future following the recent collapse of socialism.

Since Nietzsche declared "God is dead" and "Man is alive", and R. Bart declared the author is dead, no one became alive. Nihilism was the outcome of a long epistemology based on skepticism, agnosticism and relativism. Post-modernism destroyed what Europe built: the ideals of enlightenment. Deconstructionism wanted to delude what Europe had already crystallized. M. Scheler cried ***Umsturz der Werten***, Husserl ***Erlebniss Verloss***, Bergson ***une machine a faire des dieux***, Toynbee ***Civilization on trial***, P. Hazard ***la crise de la conscience Europenne***, Husserl ***Crisis des Europaischen Wissenschaften***.

At the same time, the Muslim world began its reformation and went through its renaissance. It accomplished already its independence through liberation movements and the formation of new modern states. Islamic resurgence, Islamic resistance in Lebanon and Palestine, the Islamic revolution in Iran, Muslim Republics in central Asia, the new economic achievements of Indonesia, Malaysia and Turkey, Muslim awakening in Eastern Europe, Muslim presence in Western Europe and America ...etc. are all symptoms of a new Islamic Era; the top of the iceberg.

A desire for a great autonomous Muslim world is felt everywhere and creativity on all levels is pursued: Islamization of knowledge, Islamic Banking system, new Islamic identity, new forms of resistance, modern institutions such as Islamic conference, ALECSO, Islamic ideology, Islamic new thinking, Islamic popular movements, Islamic new hopes ...etc.

The differentiation between the self and the other is greatly felt in the Muslim world, against all forms of westernization and alienation. Particularism is a natural reaction to hegemonic universalism.

Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism are real movements in the Muslim world going beyond regionalism as a counter-movement

against globalization. The Arab and Muslim world has a built-in potentialities to form a second non-Western pole in Africa and Asia: Oil revenues, vast markets, cheap labor, intellectual creativity and even non-conventional weapons. Population-wise, Muslims in the world are one sixth of world population with China and India they make the half.

If Africa is suffering from drought, hunger, decease and civil wars, Asia, and in particular the "Asian Tigers", is much more advanced, and with China, Korea and Japan, a power-shift may occur from Europe to Asia, from the West to the East. The East wind has already begun to blow. If the spirit of the world in the beginning of history went from the East to the West through the Middle-East, it blows now from the West to the East at the end of history. Western modern times which opened in the 15th century are closing down at the 20th century. In the non-Western world, new modern times are beginning in Africa and Asia, the bulk of the Muslim world. Sun sets and sun rises.



The Middle East, in Whose World?

Primary Reflections

1- The expression Middle East is an old British label based on a British Western perception of the East divided into middle or near and far, which are two relative concepts having Britain as a referring point. The expression is a projection from outside, not emerging from inside, conceiving the other in relation to the self as it was always the case in classical orientalism, the periphery in relation to the center, which is already a power relationship expressed in cognition.

2- Globalization is also another label from the same kind, expressing the power relationship between the East and the West after the collapse of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union. Globalization is not an essential concept but an existential given, not a substantial factor but an accidental fact. Sometimes political scientists transform a reality to a concept, a fact to an essence, a spatio-temporal situation to an everlasting state of mind, *de facto* to *de jure*, doing harm to the discipline itself and switching superstitiously from science to ideology, from political analysis to political position. If the expression Middle East was

(*) The Middle East in a Globalized World, the Fourth Nordic conference on Middle Eastern studies 6, Oslo 1998, Bergen 2000.

coined in the British mind the term globalization is also coined in the American intelligence research centers.

3- The so-called Middle East has its own label from within not from without, perceived by its own peoples and cultures. It is called the Arab World, a geographic label which is not a sufficient one for an Arab nationalist preferring the Arab Nation. It is called also the Islamic or Muslim World, a larger circle, which is more satisfactory for a pan-islamist. Some modernists, such as Malik ben Nabi from Algeria would equate it with the Afro-Asian World even if it includes some non-Muslims but they share the same ideals of independence and development with the whole. The identity of this world is not essentially religious but socio-political.

4- Some modern labels, during the era of globalization are projected to alienate the Arab Nation/World away from its own identity such as the Mediterranean countries including the Arab World with Europe, to minimize the tension between the northern and the southern shores of the Mediterranean, between the West and Islam given the common heritage during the Greco-Roman rule, during the Islamic Rule, during medieval crusaders or modern colonialism or during the actual north-south dialogue. The Middle-East itself began to be a new label away from the British geographic label but as a new political entity which includes the Arabs and the Israelis, both exist in the Middle-East which may stretch also to Greece and Iran and may be to Turkey. The Middle East is not exclusively Arabs but it is also Iranians, not only Muslims but also Jews. Globalization is a community of interests not nations for a future Middle East in which Israel plays a central modernizing role instead of Egypt.

5- Globalization was always a World system. The powerful was the global while the weak was the local. The global was the center while the local was the periphery. Ancient China was the center of the world according to ancient cartography. Persia and Rome disputed the center of the world. Then Islam as a new power

inherited both, Western and Eastern powers and became the center of the world in spite the invasions from the West, the Crusaders, and from the East, the Tatars and the Mongols. The West followed, after reaching the Western Hemisphere by crossing the Atlantic, even if the intention was to reach India by the western root. Since Western modern times till the end of modern times Europe was the center of the world, Africa, Asia and Latin America were the periphery. Globalization is not a recent phenomena since the downfall of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the socialist block with the exception of Cuba and China. Globalization is not one instant in modern history of Europe but it has always been there, expressing the will of the powerful, the balance of power between the center and the periphery.

6- Globalization expresses one sole course of history of a special historical consciousness that of the West. In the beginning of modern times, Europe was expanding westwards crossing the Atlantic, two years interval after the fall of Grenada in 1492, and Eastwards against the Ottoman Empire in Eastern Europe to the extreme limits of Asia passing by India, putting an end to the Mongol Empire. The XIX century was the peak of European expansion when Europe inherited the center of the world making from Asia, Africa and America its periphery. Colonialism was its outcome. If military colonialism is almost ended with the exception of some aggressions here and there, economic exploitation, scientific dependency and cultural domination are still continuing. Globalization is a new form of Western hegemony after the fall of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the socialist regimes, as if history was blocked in time and in space, nothing after and nothing elsewhere.

7- The Arab World has another historical course in history. In macro-analysis, the Arab/Muslim World tried since last century reform and renaissance, to end its middle ages during the Mamluk and Turkish rule. It left behind two big historical periods: first, the classical culture in the golden age reaching its peak in the IV century

Higra and ending after al-Gazali critique of rational sciences giving the Ruler an ideology of power, ***Ash'arism*** in Creed and ***Shafi'ism*** in Law a period which Ibn Khaldoun rightly described in his ***Mukaddima*** in the first seven hundred years. The second, is from Ibn Khaldoun on till last century, from the VIII to the XIV century in the next seven hundred years when memory wrote what reason produced, when reason commented and summarized itself, transferring knowledge from the self or from the other since last century. The Arab/Muslim World is now beginning a third historical period ending its own middle ages and beginning its own reformation and renaissance. That is why in spite of all the difficulties of the present, a more hopeful and optimistic Islam appears in the writings of many contemporary thinkers before and after the collapse of socialist regimes, and the surmounting tone of globalization. The Arab/Muslim world is not living in the era of globalization, the historical course of the other, but in the beginning of its third period in history, the historical course of the self.

8- The micro-analysis shows that since the last century the Arab/Muslim World tried a large reformist movement, Islam against colonialism from outside and oppression from inside. Most liberation movements came out of reformism especially in North Africa. Western liberalism was the outcome of religious reform since it was its model. Independent from religion, it became secular liberalism based on natural science. This liberal model ended after the Arab military revolutions in the beginning of the second half of the 20th century. The model switched from liberalism labeled as feudalism, elitism and pro-Western alliance. A large movement of decolonization and social construction of modern nation states began. The fifties and the sixties were the romantic and heroic era of pan-Arabism, the third world, Bandung, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and the non- alignment. In the seventies and eighties, and may be till now the socialist ideal collapsed after the defeat of 1967 and the death of Nasser in 1970. The independent state became dependant, socialism

switched to capitalism and the public sector was privatized. The historical course of the Arab/Muslim World is from colonization to decolonization to recolonization. It has nothing to do with globalization and the Western historical course. Only synchronically, the era of globalization in the historical course of the other corresponds to the era of recolonization in the historical course of the self.

9- Globalization is a fabricated concept not a reality. It is an ideology in spite of the old myth, the end of ideology and the beginning of technology, another myth. In the name of the world as a global village, the information revolution, the Internet, the E-mail, the satellites and all modern means of communication and mass-media, all borders are dropped, between nations, peoples, cultures, customs and manners called specificities, particularities, value-systems ...etc. The purpose is to pass the free market economy. The end of economic planning and the state economy after the fall of socialist regimes in 1991 proved that the free market economy is the most congruent to human activity. With multi-national corporations, economy is implemented on a worldwide scale. The group of eight, the GATT, the World Bank, the IMF and all international financial centers are run globally not locally. There are only two alternatives: to compete or retreat, to produce or to consume, to create or to imitate, to invent or to assimilate, to give or to take, to export or to import, to be in the center or to be on the periphery.

10- Other side-concepts came into help such as: civil society, governance, human rights, gender, greenery, end of history, clash of civilization, freedom, democracy ...etc. Civil society is introduced as an alternative to the state, a society governed by the unions and the NGOS. A free society is the prerequisite for a free economy without any state intervention, irrespective of the historical context of the concept and its anti-religious and anti-state connotation. It is blocked by other traditional concepts such as ***Ummah***, ***'Ashira***, ***Kawm***, ***Ahl***, ***Sh'ab***, ***Kabila***, ***Raht***, ***Naas*** ...etc. Governance gives the priority to administration of business instead of the national state.

Government is management rather than national sovereignty. It can be run by international experts not by nationals. The value is that of the individual, not the community. The battle is human rights not peoples rights. The individual inherits society as society inherits the state. The state is reduced to society and the society is reduced to the individual. The individual is even split into male-female dichotomy in the name of gender. The liberation of the female precedes the liberation of the individual and the autonomy of the state. Feminism is a component of civil society. The struggle for freedom and equality begins by the gender not by sociopolitical struggle. The struggle for freedom and democracy is not a struggle for freedom and democracy ***per se*** as a part of natural right but as a prerequisite for free economy. The Greens are fighting against pollution in the West not against desertification in Africa, to protect environment in the West by stocking the nuclear residuals in countries of the Third World. The collapse of socialist regimes meant the victory of capitalism and the free market economy. History ended, the prophecy accomplished, the Messia appeared and the process fulfilled. For the periphery where traditional societies live, clash of civilizations is their destiny as if the conflict between the center and the periphery is not a power conflict including socioeconomic conflict, but only a civilizational one, as if clash of civilizations was a cover-up for the real socio- political and economic hegemony.

11- If globalization is the empowerment of the center, fragmentation is planned for the periphery. The power of the whole requires the weakness of the parts. The divisions in the Arab/Muslim world are accentuated, exposed in the mass-media and even encouraged. Studies on minorities, ethnic, religious and sectarian are abundant: Arabs and Berbers in North Africa, kurds and Arabs in Iraq and Turkey, Arabs and Africans in Southern Sudan, Muslims and Copts in Egypt, ***Sunnis*** and ***Shi'is*** in southern Iraq, Bahrain, Kuwait in particular and in the Gulf in general, **Druz**, ***'Alawites*** and Muslim Brothers in Syria. All these divisions exist in Lebanon, the

victim of civil war for more than fifteen years. Political divisions are usually the outcome of such fragmentation like civil war in Algeria between FIS and the Army, in Afghanistan between the Talebans and the government. The center is unifying itself while the periphery is dismantled including Russia: Chechan and Georgia, Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzgovena, Kusovo, ...etc, borders conflicts between states in Africa. Ethiopia and Eritrea, tribal genocide in Rwanda, mass killing in Congo ...etc. While European unity is hailed, admired and implemented, the fragmentation of the Arab/Muslim World is deplored and encouraged. Pan-Arabism or Pan-Islamism is unrealistic. Regional co-operation is weak. Arab summits are inefficient. Arab common market is stalemate since half a century.

12- Islam is described in Western mass media as a substitute to communism and the red threat coming from the East before the collapse of socialist regimes in 1991. The West needs an enemy to justify its use of power and legitimize its direct or indirect aggression. Islam is linked to violence, terrorism, bloodshed, civil wars, backwardness, poverty of the majority and opulence of the elite, ignorance, drought, hunger, violation of human rights, torture, imprisonment, prejudices against women, social oppression, political dictatorship, severe penal code, traditionalism, persecution of intellectuals, writers and artists ...etc. Islam is threatening the identity of Europe by Muslim customs and manners: scarves, mosques, violence, language, education, minority groups, sub-cultures ...etc, such as the Turks in Germany, Moroccans in Netherlands, North-Africans in France, Asians in Britain, Black-Muslims in America, while orthodox Jews are not a threat.

13- Globalization expressing the one-polar world as another new world order does not tolerate any challenge even ***in potentia*** and in the future of any resistance or even reluctance to be a part of the global world. The bi-polar world is finished forever. It is not only a part of recent past history but it is the structure of future history. A

challenge to globalization may not come form Asia. The new industrial societies are busy in performing their Asian wonder. Their upheaval is dependent on Western capital, Western stock markets and the free market economy. It is a fragile experience especially after the devaluation of their currency in Indonesia, Malaysia and even in South Korea and Japan. World global economy goes beyond peoples and cultures. Latin America, the home of Ch. Gievara, the birthplace of liberation theology and of dependency theory is now cooling down, hit by hunger, drugs, poverty and oppression. The sixties were a sweet dream. Africa is also hit by civil wars, border conflicts, drought, hunger, famine genocide, dictatorship, AIDS in spite of the end of apartheid in South Africa. The Arab/Muslim world is still struggling in spite of its dependence on USA and recognition of Israel defending its own cultural identity and autonomy in a global world. That is why it is antagonized and threatened: Iraq embargo, Libya blocs, Sudan and Iran threatened, Egypt marginalized, Israel supported, Islamic fundamentalism encouraged because of its conservatism and fought because of its anti-westernism, ...etc. The Arab/Muslim world may represent a possible challenge of the one polar world, given its historical depth, its cultural specificity, its long struggle against foreign domination and its material and moral potentialities. Islamic movements are becoming stronger. Islam is succeeding as a vehicle of protest, as an expression of sociopolitical grievances, presenting itself as an alternative.

14- The Arab/Muslim World having its own historical course does not mean isolating itself from the globalizing world. There was no culture, which was so open to the world as the Arab/Muslim culture, taking birth by a creative interaction between the self and the other. There is no victorious culture, which was so respectful to indigenous cultures as the Arab/Muslim culture was. Aristotle was the first master, Plato the owner of power and light, Socrates the wisest of all men, Galien the best of all ancients and moderns.

Greek, Roman, Persian, Babylonian and Indian cultures were translated, commented on, summarized, assimilated and reconstructed in the new culture. Historically, the Arab/Islamic culture was at the center, the crossroad of ancient Eastern and Western cultures. Geographically, it is also the center between East and West, North and South. It is in the heart of the globalizing world. The challenge is in whose world, the old world of the center or the new world of the periphery, the world of the other or the world of the self, the world which is imposed by the one polar world or the world which is created by multi-polar world?

15- Instead of a globalizing world in the name of the one-polar World expressing the power of the center why not conceiving an interdependent world in the name of the multi- polar world expressing the surmounting power of the periphery? It is unconceivable that the culture of the center which is based on pluralism to the point of skepticism, relativism, agnosticism and even nihilism is defending globalization, a Unitarian, unilateral and monolithic worldview and as a substitute to totalitarianism constantly equated to former socialist regimes. The double standard is not only in and out the center but it is inside the center itself. The periphery which has been all the time accused of dogmatism, unilateralism and monolithism, as "oriental despotism" is now defending a multi-polar and interdependent world. Examples of China, Malaysia and Iran can be given for this interdependent world, living in a global world without losing one's own national sovereignty and independent will.

16- The Middle East in a globalizing world may be the beginning of a new type of world studies away from classical orientalism axed on language and history to open a new horizon for world history. The ***Zeigeist*** is not the monopoly of the West in general and Hegel in particular but it is open to all nation peoples and cultures to find for themselves a place in world history. Classical orientalism can switch from language and literature to culture, from history to philosophy of history, from subject-object, observer-

observed relationship to intersubjective experience shared by all, subject and object at the same time. The spirit of the world, the movement of history, the cross destinies may be the global world every culture is living. The challenge is to know the future direction. The global world in the center may be closing its modern times from the ***Cogito*** (Descartes) to the ***Cogitatum*** (Husserl), from ***Discours à la méthode*** (Descartes) to ***Against method*** (Feyerabend), from the ***Critique of pure reason*** (Kant) to ***Farewell to Reason*** (Feyrabend), from the great restoration (Bacon) to Deconstructionism (Derrida), from the beginning of modern times to the end of modern times. The cycle of Eurocentrism may have been accomplished. The new ***Zeitgeist*** may be going from Westwind to Eastwind, from Northwind to Southwind. A presage or a reality, an omen or a law of history, a prophecy or an eschatology, a promise or a fulfillment, who can tell?



Versprechen Europa

1- The word 'promises' and its appearance lately in several titles indicates a desire for a future science, a prospect on the future and a need for a new eschatology. The anguish of the past as it was at the beginning of modern times, is no more there, given the victory of modernism and the achievements of the critical reason. But it is still carried on, from Kierkegaard to Heidegger.

The promise reveals also a desire for a new salvation, in spite of contemporary atheism, a new promised land, in spite of breaking the covenant, of a new utopia in spite of European Realism and the critique of utopian thought. The question is: do such promises exist or are they simple illusions? Are they realizable or is it that, the huge era of modern times coming to close, from Descartes to Husserl, from Kant's "Critique of pure reason" to Feyerabend's "Farewell to Reason", from Descartes' "Discours à la méthod" to Feyerabend's "Against method" from Bacon's "Great Restauration" to Derrida's Deconstructionism?

Europe is not only a geographic area or a historical period, an economic common market or a political union, but it is a consciousness, one phase in the development of World consciousness. Some contemporary philosophers, namely Husserl, spoke of European consciousness as European sciences as ***Besinnung*** "prise de conscience" not only of itself but also of humanity. Europa is a

(*) DIALEKTIK, Enzyklopädische Zeitschrift für philosophie und wissenschaften, 1988, 1, Die Idee der Tradition, Meiner, Humburg.

Lebenswelt in mankind's universal history, in a special time and space.

Europe is an essence, not a fact, a world-view not a continent, a given of consciousness, not a perception of a thing. It is an attitude in the world, a world-view, a motivation for action, a ***Selbst-besinnung***.

The West is only the field of action of European consciousness, a simple ***Lebensraum***. The West refers to the total civilization in the Western Hemisphere while European refers to the culture, the intellectual aspect of civilization, carrying the essence, the value-system of the world-view, the living and the continuous perception of and motivations in the world.

Europe as an ideal type is crystallized in European consciousness, one of the main subjects in contemporary philosophy, and the favorite analysis in phenomenology. It is a rediscovery of the historical and collective subject behind the pure reason, the local below the Universal, the historical as ***Grundlegung*** of the structural, the dialectics between the synchronic and the diachronic, between Weber and Marx.

2- In the beginning of modern times, Europe was able to overcome the imitation of the past, Aristotle or the Church, switching from scholasticism to modernism, from Roman Catholicim to German Protestantism, from faith to reason, from God to Man, from the spirit to the body, from the old to the new and from the sacred to the profane. That was the glory of three centuries from the XIVth to the XVIIth century. The "Retour aux Belles Lettres" as represented in Greek mythology in Italy rediscovered Greek humanism away from Greek philosophy represented by Aristotelism.

Mythos was more attractive than Logos. Eurepedes, Aescheles and Sophocles expressed the New Western humanism more than Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Artistic creativity liberated European consciousness from conceptual hegemony.

The Reformation in the XV[th] century was able to overcome religious institutions interceding as mediations between man and God, and to bring back faith from the outside to the inside, from the historical to the individual, from the monopoly of interpretation to the freedom of understanding, form external rituals to internal piety. The freedom of the Christian liberated European consciousness from the Babylonian captivity.

The Renaissance in the XVI[th] century was able to overcome the old world-view and to establish a new one, switching from the past to the future, from Dogmatism to Criticism, from Theocentrism to Anthropocentrism, from the closed Book, the Scripture, to the open Book, Nature, from the heliocentric to the geocentric, from the immortality of the soul to the mortality of the body, from the subject of the King to the free citizen.

The Rationalism of the XVII[th] century was a huge accumulation of the previous three centuries of struggle paving the Way to "Cogito ergo sum" and "Le bon sense est la chose du monde la mieux partagée". Mathematics, especially geometry, became the model of a global science, a mathesis universalis.

The Transcendence took over anthropomorphism. Logic of consequence prevailed on Logic of contradiction. Democracy inherited Theocracy. The free citizen in the constitutional state succeeded the obedient subject to the Royal State and Divine Church.

In the XVIII[th] century Enlightenment, Reason exploded into society, generating the French Revolution, for the establishment of a new society without Kings and priests, based on "liberté, égalité, fraternité". The freedom of the citizen, of the society of equals, the social contract, Democracy, the multi-party system, the constitution and human rights were all some of the European achievements. Reason struggled against all forms of tutorship. The will defended its own autonomy. Philosophy became peoples culture generating the French and American Revolutions. The age of Reason and the

World's citizen became two major guiding motivations of the European consciousness.

The victory of Europe continued in the XIXth century, in natural science and in its historic progress. Nature and history were under human power. Man became the master of Nature and the hero in history. The industrial revolution was the accomplishment and sometimes the outcome of the social revolution. Progress is indefinite in science and in history. The industrial revolution was the accomplishment and sometimes the outcome of the social revolution. Progress is indefinite in sciences through Technology and in history till its final accomplishment. History came to an end. The promise is fulfilled. Kingdom of Heavens became Kingdom of Earth. Philosophers of history traced the course of history seeing the past in different stages and arriving to the final one with little room for a future stage (except Condorcet who left the tenth stage for the future).

3- The victorious European consciousness began to collapse. It felt a certain fatigue out of a failure of nerves. The crisis began in the XXth century by the destruction of reason. Human existence is much more complex than the simplicity of reason, much more contradictory than the consequence of reason. "I think then I am not", or "I do not think then I am", as Kierkegaard put it. Absurdity became more attractive than conformity. "Pour une morale de l'ambiguité" of Simone de Bouvoire took over "Die Grundlegungen der Metaphysik der Sitten" of Immanuel Kant. Prometheus unbound disappeared and Sisyphus appeared. Reason was equated to Formalism, extrencicism, fixism, coldness, systematic dogmatism, ***logomachos*** and hegemony. Lucács made the inventory of such new mood in "The destruction of Reason". Horkheimer and Adorno did the same in "Dialectics of Enlightenment" showing its limits.

Science also appeared as too narrow to absorb the wealth of human existence. It appears as reductionism, positivism, historicism, objectivism, special, external, material, utilitarian and inhuman. For Gabriel Marcel, existence and objectivité are two different orders.

The psycho-physical parallelism was an example of such reductionism. Bergson, Merleau-Ponty, Maine de Biran, Ravaisson, Brentano, Husserl, Stumpf refuted psychologism. Science in the name of objectivity and neutrality presented itself as value free, then judged as free of value.

Many contemporary philosophers used terms indicating the contemporary crisis. Max Scheler described it as "Umsturz der Werte". Spengler saw it as "Der Untergang des Abendlandes". Toynbee uttered "Civilisation on trial"; Paul Hazard wrote "la crise de la conscience European". Bergson attested "L'humanité gémit, à demi écrasée sous de poids des progres qu'elle a faite". He ends "Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion" by seeing the official function of the world as "une machine á faire des dieux". Merleau-Ponty asked "Humanism ou Terreur?", "Sign ou non-sign", Ortega y Gasset also wrote "The revolt of the masses", "Dehumanisation of Art". Unamuno symbolized it as "The agony of Christianism".

Most of the existentialist analysts indicate the same malaise. Being is nothingness, Sein zum Tode, Angst, obsession, despair, scandal, crainte, tremblement, absurdity, irrationality, suicide ...etc. The ***élan vital*** of the victorious consciousness faded away. The planet became refractory and disobedient after being docile and obedient. Being is nothingness. It creates in the soul a "Nausée". A human being is a worm in an apple. He is a plus, an addition, a ***salaut***. Il est, in Sartre's words, ***de trop***.

Philosophy of life was dealt with by Nietzsche, Dilthey, Driesch, Simmel, Brentano, Euken, Scheler, they tried to keep human life away from a double-reduction, an upper reduction transforming the ***Erlebnis*** to a formal level, and a lower reduction, transforming it to a material level. ***Lebenswelt*** had its own level of analysis, its own science namely phenomenology, Husserl made the last warning cry against the "possible end":

> "Die Krise des europäischen Daseins hat nur zwei Auswege: Den Untergang Europas in der Entfremdung gegen seinen

eigenen rationalen Lebenssinn, den Verfall in Geistfeindschaft und Barbarei, oder die Wiedergeburt aus dem Geist der Philosophle durch einen den Naturalismus endgültig überwindenden Heroismus der Vernunft. Europas größte Gefahr ist die Müdigkeit. Kämpfen wir gegen die Gefahr der Gefahren als 'gute Europäer' in jener Tapferkeit, die auch einen unendlichen Kampf nicht scheut, dann wird aus dem Vernichtungsbrand des Unglaubens, dem schwelenden Feuer der Verzweiflung an der menschheitlichen Sendung des Abendlandes, aus der Asche der großen Müdigkeit der Pheonix einer neuen Lebensinnerlichkeit und Vergeistigung auferstehen, als Unterpfand einer großen und fernen Menschenzukunft. Denn der Geist allein ist unsterblich"(1).

Many contemporary philosophers foresaw the beginning of the end and predicted the closing of modern times, from Descartes to Husserl, from Giordano Bruno's "The spirit of the Renaissance" to Nietzsche's, the spirit of modern times, from hope to despair, from progress to regression, from Renaissance to ***Untergang***, from Restoration to Deconstruction, from Reformation to Deformation. Nietzsche declared "God is dead" and man is alive. Afterwards R. Barthes declared the author is dead and "L'ecriture au point Zero" and no one is alive.

Structuralism as a reaction to Marxism favored a formal structure in the mind or as archetypes existing nowhere. It also declared the end of the living man and the beginning of the dead scrolls. The synchronic took over the diachronic. The power of Rationalization of which Husserl and Weber were proud in European consciousness became "***La pensée sauvage***" et "***La mentalite Primitive***".

Linguistics favors language as formal discipline-syntax, grammar, semantics, semiotics, phonetics-analyzing the discourse as small units referring to themselves. Language became a self-

(1) E. Husserl: Krisis, pp. 347-348.

sufficient world, a closed world without reference to independent meanings or things in the world.

Deconstructionism equated logos to hegemony and Eurocentrism. It transformed thinking to simple units of writing. "Grammatologie", the sound to the letter, the oral to the written, the audition to the sight, the time to space. Language is only terms without meanings and even without a referencial world. Deconstructionism decomposes thinking, a pathological analysis to find nothing. European consciousness is tired from synthesis and synopsis, from the eyebird view to a small "corner of view", a simple perspective transforming perspectivism to a whole philosophy like Ortega. Postmodernism tried to end the world of law and order in the self and in the world. Disorder, dissymmetry, dissonance, etc. are seen as higher orders. European consciousness had enough from the normal, looking for the abnormal in life and in sex. It lost direction, motivation and the sense of purpose.

The chaotic theory in philosophy of science symbolized the same trend on the level of Nature. Reason is no more willing to understand or to systematize. European consciousness is returning back, to the original ***nebula*** from which the world came.

4- Therefore, European consciousness had a point of departure crystallized in Descartes' ***cogito*** and a point of arrival summarized in Husserl's ***cognitatum***. From the cogito came two motivations, one upwards representing rationalism and the other downwards representing empiricism. European consciousness began as an open mouth dissecting reality between Idealism and Realism, formalism and materialism, subjectivism and objectivism. The first begins by Descartes and the Cartesians, the second by Bacon, Locke, Hobbes and Hume.

The development of European consciousness is that effort to bring back this dualism to its original unity. Kant tried by juxtaposing both, one over the other, sensation and reason linked by understanding in a stable and external way. Hegel tried again by

turning these three vertical stages into horizontal phases in a more dynamic and dialectical way. Others pretended to find a third way between these two extremes, an intermediate zone, will, life, creativity, effort, habit, body, intentionality or teleology unifying the pure and the practical reason.

This modern ***epopee*** of European consciousness in the last seven hundred years from the XIVth till the XXth century was preceded by two other seven hundred years from the VIIth to the XIVth century, the period of early and late scholasticism, and from the Ist till the VIIth century, the Greek and Roman Patristics. These two first periods are the field of interaction between the three sources of European consciousness: The Judeo-Christian, the Greco-Roman and the European milieu itself.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, Judaism took over Christianity in spite of Celsus warning that the essence of Christianity, which is love, is distinct from the essence of Judaism, which is law. The New Testament and the old Testament are two distinct Books and should not be unified in the Bible or in the Holy Book. Paul with his Jewish background contributed in this judaization of Christianity while Christ proceeded by the Esseniens tried to Christianize Judaism.

In the Greco-Roman source, the Romans took over Athens, the Imperial Rome dominated the Greek ***Nous***. In the heart of every European lies the Empire, the desire to dominate, to expand and to go outside the geographic borders of Europe. That may explain partly the antagonism between Europe and Islam. Islam created a new Empire in the southern shore of the Mediterranean, inheriting the colonies of the Roman Empire and even expanding on the southern shore of Europe, Andalousia, Southern France, Southern Italy, Sicily and Greece including the major Island, Malta, Creet and Cyprus.

This conversion of Christianism to Judaism and from Greece to Rome may explain partly the hidden and deep foundation of Eurocentrism, a modern formulation of the Jewish particle covenant. It may explain also the European Hedonism based on the maximum

of production, for the maximum of consumption for the maximum of happiness. It may explain also the continuous wars in and outside Europe, and lately two World's wars in less than thirty years, ending by launching two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Now, whither Europe? What are the possible scenarios for Europe in the future? now after ending its third seven hundred years of modern times is Europe capable of making a post-modern Era?

But, Europe is not alone in the world and was never alone. Europe is a very late comer in the history of mankind. World History may have begun in the East, Ancient Egypt, China, India, Persia, Mesopotamia and Canaan. Every ancient culture contributed to the making of the world history in the Westwind movement. European modern times are the accumulative cultural experiences of all previous ancient cultures. The tree planted in the East gave its fruit in the West that is why the West is silent about its sources. It begins by Greece as if nothing preceded Greece. The West offered the world a culture without precedents, creative not transferred, the role of Islam was to deliver the Greek Culture to Europe as simple honest carrier but sometimes tampering with the sources.

After Decolonization and the emergence of the Non-European world in Africa and Asia a new wind is blowing from the East, the East wind. The world history may be switching again from the West to the East, a new phase in the World global history.

5- In spite of this historicity of European consciousness it blew up outside its geographic borders and became equated to the world consciousness. The history of mankind since early China, India, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Canaan was seen as the beginning of history, a prehistory. History began with the Greeks, commented on by the Arabs and transferred to European middle ages. Modern times were the fulfillment of history, the accomplishment of the promise.

Outside Europe, European culture is labeled Western culture. Western culture was equated to the Universal culture. It became

culture ***par excellence*** with capital C and all other cultures are in small cs. It is the only culture of reason, science, progress, human rights, freedom and democracy. Every other culture has to cope with it in the name of acculturation. Local cultures have to find their places in museums of anthropology. They are closer to folklore, to ethics and to religion. The power of theorization is also an European power, the point of Archimedes.

The power of the mass media, and the monopoly of information diffusion helped Europe in expanding outside its own borders. The lack of awareness of the Non-European Cultures of their own cultures helped in cultural alienation. Imitation continued only with the change of the master, the new master, modernism, instead of the old master, traditionalism. Westernization of non-Western cultures occurred by the flooding of Western culture outside its own borders. It became synonymous to modernism. Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Husserl, Heidegger etc. were represented everywhere by professors of philosophy transferring European philosophical systems abroad. This over flooding from Europe to the non-Europe prevented intellectual indigenous creativity. It is easier to speak on Kant and Hegel instead of digging once own philosophical setting and discover a critical philosophy between Dogmatism and Criticism as Kant did, or to declare the rights of man to think not to imitate and to receive pre-made knowledge as Descartes did.

European culture became the only frame of reference according to which all other cultures are judged. A rationalist in the non-Western cultures is judged as a Cartesian or a Kantian. Any thinker defending freedom and democracy to struggle in his own socio-political setting against oppression and dictatorship is seen as a Western liberal. Any scholar defending social justice and claiming equity of income redistribution of wealth is characterized as a Marxist. All creativities in the periphery were measured according to the center.

The polarity between Europe and Non-Europe accentuated till it became structural in the diffusion of knowledge from the center to

the periphery. Europe creates and Non-Europe transfers. Europe transfers, Europe creates and observes and non-Europe is observed. Europe is the knowing subject and non-Europe is the knowable object.

That polarity created in the center a complex of superiority and in the periphery a complex of inferiority, a master-slave relation. The historical movement of modern times became a structural relation in the meta-history.

Since the speed of creativity of the center is much higher than that of the transfer in the periphery, the distance between the center and the periphery gets bigger more and more. Finally, the periphery accepts its role in history as a consumer of knowledge, not as a creator of knowledge. It even stops running after the center to catch it. Then it receives a cultural shock by the fatigue of running and accept its fate in history.

If Europe created Orientalism, the image of Non-Europe in Europe, Non-Europe can create also Occidentalism, the image of Europe in Non-Europe. This double image between the perceiver and the perceived may help in bringing some equilibrium in the balance between the Northern shore and the Southern shore of the Mediterranean. A double mirror is capable of seeing one's self in the mirror of the other. Each is a subject and an object, a subject for himself and an object for the other.

The outcome of such discipline would be to bring back Europe within its natural borders, digging for its own historicity, of its own formation and structure. The formation requires the analysis of sources and the description of the point of departure and the point of arrival, with some speculations on the future scenario. Europe is not alone this time but involved with other cultures in making a global history.

As European scholars invented in anthropology what is called ***mentalité primitive***, ***pensée sauvage***, Semite mind versus Arian mind based on the arrogance of the center which appeared in the racial

manifestation of Eurocentrism, Non-European scholars also observed something similar to non-European mentality seeing the world in compartments, as opposing extremes, as part of a whole which can never be simultaneously perceived, two opposing and inconsolable sides such as: Rationalism and Empiricism, Idealism and Realism, Subjectivism and Objectivism, Individualism and Collectivism, Capitalism and Socialism, Theism and Atheism, Classicism and Romanticism, Tradition and Modernism, Old and New, Fundamentalism and Secularism, Religion and Philosophy, Faith and Reason, Religion and Science, Nationalism and Internationalism ...etc. The European mentality apparently lost its focus, the center which brings back its extremes, the heart linking the members. These false oppositions have been transferred in non-European cultures causing splits in national cultures.

History never stops. Every victorious or defeated period has been labeled as the end of history. Hegel in the XIXth century and Fukuyama after the collapse of Totalitarianism in the East. Huntingtons's "Clash of Civilization" opened a new era in history, a conflict between Western culture, Judeo-Christian cultures, with Eastern cultures, Islam and Buddhism, paving the way for a new war between cultures, succeeding the cold war between the political systems.

If the European culture is now at the end of the third seven hundred years, the beginning and the end of modern times, another Non-European cultures namely "Islamic culture" may be opening its third seven hundred years. Both European and Islamic cultures met twice before, in the VIIth century A.D., the end of the Patristics and the beginning of European modern times and the beginning of Islamic middle ages. A third meeting, a new cross road is occurring now between European culture at the end of the XXth century and the Islamic cultures at the end of the XIVth and the beginning of the XVth century Higra.

If the spirit of the world went from ancient times till modern times from the East to the West, from Asia to Europe, it may be

going now from the West to the East again. If World cultures began also in the Past from the South to the North, from Africa to Europe, it may be going now on from the North to the South again. The future of the world may be the gradual shift from Eurocentrism to Afro-Asian centrism, from West and North Wind to East and South wind.



Islam, Risk or Promise?

I- Risk and Promise for whom?

1- A question has been already asked: "Is Islam, a threat or a challenge?" The same question is asked again but in a different form and may be with a different intention and purpose: Is Islam, a risk or a promise? and for whom? Risk alone is one sided, a prejudgement and a presupposition. Risk or promise is an alternative and free thinking without taking any sides.

2- The concept of Risk is an essential one in existential philosophy by Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Heidegger, Gabriel Marcel ...etc. But, its usage here in "Risk, complex crisis and social futures" is a circumstantial one, linked to the 11th September 2001 and essentially to Islam, since the twelve planes hijackers were Arab Muslims, while Oklahoma bombing of the Federal building was not, the bloodshed in northern Ireland, Basque region, Srilanka, Klu Klux Klein and organized crimes in USA, killing Muslim Turks in Germany, Muslim Genocide in Bosnia, Herzegovena, Kusovo and Albania and Chechnya, killing in Kashmir, Afghanistan and lately in Iraq...etc. are not done by Muslims, but mostly against Muslims, as if Muslims were all the time the victimisers, not the victims.

3- It is better to understand the roots than to condemn the results, and to extract these roots than to taste the bitterness of the fruits. The 11th September incidents are the outcomes of other roots.

(*) Center of Interfaith Dialogue, Amman, December 2003.

The visible is an expression of the invisible. Secondary violence is a reaction to primary violence. Using the language of Latin America, liberating violence is a counter-balance to oppressive violence. In contemporary terminology, symbolic violence is an external volcanic eruption which expresses the internal, real and boiling depth of the frustration of the heart.

4- Everyone in the four corners of the world remembers 11[th] September 2001 bombing. No one does remember 28 of September 2000, the beginning of the ***Intifada*** in Palestine, left alone for three years. Innocent children, women and old people killed, houses destroyed, green lands destructed, resistance physically liquidated, cities closed, individual and peoples rights violated. Arab and Muslim governments are incapable of support, cornered between American-Zionist external pressure and internal popular pressure. Opposition political parties are weak, being future alternative powers and dominated by the logic of power. The masses long-time under the State's control are doomed to indifference. Therefore, somebody has to cry, to shout, to proclaim in the loudest voice even if it is the voice of bombing, as a sign of protest, to break the deadly silence that surmounts to total conspiracy.

5- To understand is not to justify, to be courageous is not to condon and to analyse is not to acquiesce. What has been attacked are the symbols of powers, the signs of modern hegemony, WTO, symbol of globalization, the Pentagon, symbol of military power and military industrial complex and the white house, symbol of new conservatism, of Zionist christianism and of arrogance, namely power without justice. All progressive intellectuals and scholars criticize the same symbols of power by their pencils in scientific journals and by respected publishers, but not everyone masters the art of writing, or educated enough to accept differences and engage in a civilized and fruitful dialogue.

6- Linking risk to complex crises and social future is already contextualizing risk. It needs only to be in plural. There is not one

risk but many. Complex crises are already in plural because there are many crises in different societies and cultures which ask the question: Risk for whom? They are not simple crises easily to solve but complex ones, sharing responsibilities, not making one's self innocent and the other a criminal.

Linking risk to social future gives an optimistic note for the future after circumstantializing risk in the present. Risk can be a promise once socio-political context can be changed in the future. Nothing in human context is permanent forever. Everything is subject to change. Once socio-political and economic circumstances are changed risks for all sides are also minimized to the fragile human existence.

II- Risks and promises for the Self

1- A Risk is not always negative. For an existentialist, risk is a dimension in human life no less than the need for security. Life without risk is death. Risk is a motive of creativity and discovery of means of security. A risk is a sign, a warning bell in the present for a better and a more hopeful future.

A risk also is not only for self-protection and security maintenance but it also for the Other in an enter-depending world. The Self and the Other are inter-changeable. Everyone is the Self for an other. Considering the customary apposition between Islam and the West, Islam is the Self, the West is the Other. The West is also the Self and Islam is the Other. Therefore, Risk is a double risk for the Self as well as for the Other.

2- If the Self represents the Arab and Muslim World, Islam presents a real risk for the present political regimes, oppressive inside, dependant on and allied to USA, advocating a liberal and democratic alternative political regime. The slogan "Islam is the alternative" is a real one that expresses a strong social dissent against the actual huge disparity between rich and poor. "Islam is the

solution" is another slogan symbolizing a deep frustration from unsolved social problems such as: unemployment, mass-transportation, bureaucracy, education, housing...etc. The "application of Islamic law" is a third slogan against corruption, violations of State's laws, changing laws according to group interests, unjust laws...etc. In this case, Islam is a risk for the political regime but a promise for the people.

3- Islam may present a risk for daily life for the common people as well as for the intellectual since the major dominant trends coming out of the historical reservoir is conservatism which appears in literalism, dogmatism, ritualism, formalism, unilateralism and bigotry. Religion is considered an end *per-se* not a means to another end, the perfection of man and the integrity of society. Truth exists *per-se* not as a moral action and a perfect performance. Many modern acquisitions may be prohibited, figurative art, dancing, music, songs, television, mix education, ways of dressing and all what did appear already in Taliban's domestic practices.

4- Islam may represent a risk not only to internal policies of the depending States but also a risk to its foreign policies: Recognition of Israel before obtaining the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people for self-determination and the establishment of the Palestinian State with Jerusalem as its capital, dependence on USA, open-door policy, signing the GATT agreement, obeying the laws of the market imposed on less-industrialized States in the name of globalization, dropping customs protection for foreign goods, obeying the World Bank and IMF precepts for economic reforms including the fluctuation of the national currency and uplifting food subsidies ...etc.

5- Islam may represent a risk to narrow nationalism which considers national interests above Arab and Muslim interests. After the Camp David agreement in 1978 and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979 the slogan was "Egypt comes first". The recuperation of Sinai was disconnected from the withdrawal from the

rest of the occupied territories. After Wadi 'Araba peace treaty between Jordan and Israel the same narrow scope slogan was repeated "Jordan comes first". After the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait in 1990 Arabism was marginalized in the name of short-sighted nationalism. After the American invasion to Iraq and the incapacity of the Arab world, peoples, institutions and States, to protect one of their brothers, Arabism has been greatly tarnished. Arab and Islamic resistance in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan and Kashmir gave the hope that Islam may be the only real and the most efficient ideology for resistance.

6- Islam may represent a risk to secular ideologies of modernization after being experimented in different regions with partial success in the beginning and almost a total failure at the end. Liberalism ruled Egypt before the revolution of 1952. Partial successes were achieved on the levels of freedom of the press, multi-party system, government accountability, high education, national struggle crystallised in the revolution of 1919 ...etc. The failure was: Occupation of Suez Canal and the presence of British troups in Eastern Delta, the Kingdom and the intervention of the palace in national politics, feudalism, elitism as a high degree of Westernization in the upper class and the ruling elite, taxavasion ...etc. Arab Nationalism, in Syria since 1949, in Egypt after 1952, in Iraq after 1958, in Yemen after 1964, in Libya after 1969 were led by the free officers. Partial successes were achieved on the level of evacuation of foreign troups, industrialization, agrarian reform, free education, public sector, food subsidies, cheap housing ...etc. Failures were: Defeat of June 1967, switching 180 degree to capitalism, private sector, paid education, import, dependence on USA, acknowledgement of Israel, corruption, depoliticization of the masses, isolationism ...etc. Marxism ruled alone in Southern Yemen and in a coalition in Syria and Iraq. Successes are minimal and almost invisible. Failures are more spectacular: military conflict in southern Yemen between two Marxist fractions, unefficiency in Syria and Iraq with complete support to the B'ath regimes in both

countries. Nothing was left except conservatist Islam in Arabian Peninsula and Sudan, a simple rescue-boat, a front-escape.

III- Risks and Promises for the Other

1- If the Other is the West, Islam may represent a risk if it is linked to terrorism and violence, a common link that appeared since 11th September 2001 especially in the mass-media and Western public opinion. It is even linked structurally to Islam as a religion and scriptures, not to circumstances. In fact such a link reduces the whole to one of its parts. Islam which is presumably behind the 11th September is the same Islam behind the glorious Culture in Spain where Muslims, Jews and Christians shared the same ideal. It was the golden age in Judaism culminating in Miamonides. It is the same Islam behind Islamic mathematical, physical and human sciences, translated in the West and becoming one of the sources of Western modern renaissance. Violence is purely accidental, circumstantial and situational, due to the sense of frustration and feeling of injustice the Muslim world is subject to. Once the circumstances change violence disappears. In Islam, there is no co-ercion in religion. Whoever kills somebody as if he killed the whole mankind, and whoever helps somebody to live as if he helped the whole mankind.

2- Muslim immigration to the West does not pose any risk to Western homogeneity once a Muslim becomes integrated in the West not secluded in Muslim Ghettos and once the West does not relinquish its pluralism that it is proud of. Immigration to Europe from southern shore to northern one is normal according to the international division of labour. Immigration to Europe is very common, from Africa and from Asia because of European colonialism. European immigration was the main source of population in northern and southern America, and in Australia. Indigenous people were either completely exterminated or put in reservations. The ideal of the American society was the melting pot which has never been attained, given the actual tension still existing between whites and blacks.

3- The expansion of Islam in the West does not also represent any risk concerning the cultural identity. The West is a pluralistic culture. It encompasses Judaism and Christianity. Islam after all is part of the Judeo-Christian tradition. All three major monotheistic faiths are stemming out of Abraham. The three cultures flourished around the same Mediterranean basin. Christianity expanded from the east to the west. Greco-Roman culture expanded from north to south. Afterward Islam flourished from south to north. In modern times European culture moved from west to east. The Mediterranean culture is one block in which Islam, Christianity and Judaism are major formative elements.

4- Islam may be a promise to the West, since it presents a real challenge, not a threat, an alternative not a substitute. The Muslim World is eligible to form a second pole in this uni-polar World to have a more balanced and multi-polar World. Latin America is hit by poverty, drugs, organized crimes and the spirit of Guevara is no more there. Africa is hit by drought, desertification, poverty, foreign debts, civil wars and AIDS. The only region which is still moving, questioning, resisting, disobeying the international hegemonic order is the Muslim World. Islamic culture is still alive. It is even revitalised. Islamic resurgence if well rationalised is more a promise than a risk. Democratic experiences in Morocco, Turkey and Iran give a hopeful link in practice between Islam and Democracy. The Asian Tigers are Muslim populated with new experiences in Islam and nation building. Islam is a source of national liberation movements in the middle of the twentieth century and the core of national resistance at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty first century in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, South Africa and Eastern Europe, something to be proud of.

5- A mutual understanding of the two historical moments the Self and the Other live minimizes the risk and maximizes the promise. Both are not living in the same historical moment. The West is living at the end of its modern times after five hundred

years. It can pay the price of post-modernism, deconstructionism and writing in zero point. The Self is still struggling for its modern times, in a moment between Martin Luther and Giordano Bruno, trying to switch from Reformation to Renaissance. It still fights to end the inquisition era and the scholastic period. It defends reason, science, progress, man, freedom, equality and social justice, the ideals of the enlightenment, left behind and even discredited by the Other. Any judgement, any dialogue and any evaluation of risk and promise has to be aware of this anachronism in historical courses of the Self and the Other.

6- Both the Self and the Other are risks and promises for each other. In case of equal partnership, the risks are minimized, the promises maximized. Each played the role of the master and the disciple twice. The West played the role of the master during the Greco-Roman period when the Muslims translated from the north to the south the Greek heritage considering themselves the disciples of Aristotle, the first master and al-Farabi the second, Ptolemeo the first and the Alhazen the second Ptolemeo. The second time was during modern times when translations began again from the West especially from France, Modern Greece, into Arabic to make Enlightenment a common heritage. Islam also played the role of the master twice. The first was when translations began to occur directly from Arabic to Latin or indirectly through Hebrew in Toledo for two hundred years in late scholasticism. Latin Averorism was one of the sources of modern science and philosophy in the West. The second may be now when Islam may give a new type of humanity based on justice not power, on a universal norm, not on double standard, on humanism not on racialism. Instead of wailing: The decline of the West (Spengler), crisis of European consciousness (P. Hazard), Western civilization on trial (B. Russel), putting everything upside down (M. Scheler), the machine creating gods (Bergson), the West can have a new hope to solve its moral crisis and to fill the spiritual vacuum. Islam can be a new blood transferred in the West in its agony.

To conclude, there is no risk without promise, no complex crises without simple solutions, and no social futures without present changes. An even world is better than an imbalanced one. Actually the two sides of the scale are imbalanced. One side needs justice and recognition.



I and Thou

From Cairo To Loccum

Dear Sybille,

Having worked with you over the last five years, and having seen the seeds we disseminated together growing, and with the resulting fruits so near, permit me to express the common experience we have shared during this intensive time!

We are becoming

Reason begins the intellectual work and human experience accumulates. Memory follows to discover a permanent structure in this experience. In Foucault's terms, the "diachronic" began and now the "synchronic" appears. The structure of human experience is not an a priori in the mind, nor an archetype somewhere, but an a posteriors shining in human experience - an essence seen intuitively and shared communally. The salient structure is not a static and formal one, but a dynamic and living one, similar to a final cause. Thus ontology is essentially teleology.

Toward "I and Thou"

A dear expression from Martin Buber's life in dialogue is "I and Thou". In this context, I offer "From Cairo to loccum" as an accumulation through time and space of our "I and Thou" relationship,

(*) Letters to Sybilla, Evangelischen Akademie Loccum, Rehburg-Loccum 2003, pp. 33-39.

as an eternal dialogue, linking and including the human and the Divine - a dialogue among the human "thous" may be a kind of dialogue between the Divine "Thous". Thus "I" is and becomes the "I" in all time and space, in spite of the human condition, and redeeming the human condition. Isn't this one of the meanings of incarnation as Tolstoy expressed it when he said "the kingdom of God is within you"

Partnership off Reason and Religion

As soon as I received the first letter from the Evangelische Akademie, a question leaped to my mind: what do those words mean?! "Evangelische" is something related to the church, to religion and to faith - a closed society, carrying the heavenly legacy of the Popes, but at the same time the earthly legacy of the index and the Inquisition. Now, despite the Reformation, with the huge admiration for Martin Luther and for Protestantism, we might ask, who still wants to proclaim being "Evangelisch" in a secular West? If "Evangelisch" means love, intimacy, brother-sisterhood through common prayers and spiritual exhortation, is this appealing to people who need to think, criticize and even oppose? Is it to be seen as something reactionary, in accord with the common and most dominant image of religion throughout history? How can we juxtapose this reactionary image against the needs of the Third World, whose people are striving for progress, for human and social development, against all reactionary forces? Then is religion merely an opium of the people, or even the sigh of the oppressed, as Marx suggested?

But since "Evangelische" is now linked to "Akademie", then somehow religion may become something more positive! Is it no longer simply religious, nor simply common prayers, nor reactionary, since "Akademie" means, and brings, research, critical reason and contribution to human progress? Loccum answers this question in the affirmative! Visitors from all over the world come to

Hanover, not only as the city of Leibniz, but as the place of Loccum, the Evangelische Akademie - an Akademie with a mission into research for a common truth and a common good.

Seeking Truth as a Whole

Now, after my five year experience with the Evangelische Akademie, it has become clear to me that it is a certain kind of "think tank" - more than 300 of these academies, all over Germany, exist to link faith and reason, the Word of God and the word of man, revelation and history. If we can say that churches tend to deal with half-truths and academies with "the other half", then the Evangelical Academies are dealing with the whole truth, both sides, the two kingdoms and the two worlds. Even more, the spirit of the Akademie is the basis of the Evangelical! As Lessing observed, choosing the search for truth is an even higher cause than merely having part of the truth.

A Community Modeling a Spirit

The spirit of openness, dialogue, of multilateral views, and of plurality has made the Akademie a community of researchers, facilitating the public interchange of views and multicultural approaches. This interchange between cultures helps us be more open toward each other - not only more understanding of each other, but more constructively critical of our own cultures, as well as others. Here the collective work on a common theme is neither a matter of agreement nor disagreement, rather it is more of a unity in diversity, and diversity in unity - a kind of "united nations" experience without a hegemonic super-power or a uni-polar world or a silent and fearful dependency on others, or even alliances of some against others. So, we who participate as "academicians" in the dialogues of the Academies may succeed where politicians fail! I see the experience of our steering committee as this kind of hopeful "united nations" intercultural experience, starting with our diverse

backgrounds from all over this world - Africa (Egypt and Sudan), Asia (China, India, Turkey, Malaysia, New Zealand, Japan), Latin America (Costa Rica), Europe (Germany, Bosnia, the Czech Republic) and North America. The main world religions are also represented; Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and African religions. This is necessary because truth is multi-faceted, not one-sided. The interchange of cultural perspectives helped every member play this wonderful game of "musical chairs", entering the skin of the other, thinking in his own terms, understanding his own view, using his own language, and even sharing his own cause. All small causes can fall into one common cause, perfection, the cause for which mankind permanently must strive. As a result of these interchanges, many prejudices are on the way to being dissipated, or at least minimized and weakened.

Requirement of Dialogue

Since a dialogue takes place between equals, an imbalance between knowledge and power with its "I/It" relationship becomes transformed into a more balanced situation, permitting the emergence of the "I with Thou". Then all partners become horizontally equal, in contrast to vertical inequality. All members, become equal, de jure and de facto - de jure in their rights and duties with respect to each other, and de facto in carrying the particular legacies of their own histories and cultures. In such a felicitous situation, thinking together becomes like praying together. So who knows, dear Sybille? Since you chose us around the lake of Taberaide, then the members of our steering committee may become "fishers of men" together!

The Barrier of a Centre/Periphery Dichotomy

However, Dear Sybille, the centre-periphery dichotomy has not yet disappeared, even among us. The perception of the world's problems differs from the centre to the periphery. The Centre is still rightly perceiving its own problems, in regard to emerging issues

such as brain-death, organ transplantation, new technologies of reproduction, the communication/information revolution, greenery and pollution, bio-ethics and genetic engineering, among others. But the Centre then projects its own problems unto the periphery, as an expansion of the self unto the other, and this overshadows the real problems of the periphery. Then the periphery becomes only a mirror reflecting the problems and concerns of the Centre, without space or opportunity to identify and voice its own problems. In fact, these problems and perceptions are related only to one particular society in time and in space - that of a western, liberal, affluent, capitalist society.

Perceptions of the Centre

Nevertheless, sometimes the Centre perceives the problems of the periphery as real problems expressing its own authentic human condition, such as: human rights, minorities, and gender, although even these are also projections of the centre on the periphery. So these problems are defined by the centre in its own terms, that is, human rights based on an individualistic concept, the majority/minority dichotomy as a merely quantitative concept, gender as if the woman has a different problem from the man.

Perceptions of the Periphery

However, the periphery perceives its own problems as: peoples' rights based on a collective concept, the majority/minority issue as a qualitative expression of a pluralistic society, and gender divisions as a substitution for a citizenship which includes male and female together.

The Problem and the Tension

The problem is: who is thinking about whom, and on whose terms? Who is setting the agenda - the self or the other? Is this "double split perception" an open epistemology, or is it covering a

hidden non-epistemological agenda of the Centre? Didn't Habermas obscure the relation between knowledge and human interests?

Likewise, the periphery sees the problems of the centre differently as well: Eurocentrism, hegemony, transfer of knowledge, value crisis, dangers of a uni-polar world, the double standard in international law, the epistemological project having priority over the ethical one, the failure of the western ideal, maximizing production to maximize consumption, or vice-versa, as the path to maximum happiness... the end of modern times as foreseen by Nietzsche, Bergson, Spengler, Russell, Toynbee and Husserl; the dualist mentality, fragmenting the whole into its parts, and creating dichotomies such as idealism/realism, classicism/romanticism, rationalism/empiricism, spiritualism/materialism, essentialism/existentialism, individualism/communitarianism, and socialism/capitalism.

In contrast, the periphery sees its own problems as: poverty, maldistribution of wealth, social justice, political, social and cultural/customs oppression, imbalance between rights and duties, the overwhelming presence of tradition in opposition to modernism, theocentrism, authoritarianism, imitation, the collective prevailing over the individual, the absolute swallowing the relative, dogmatism preventing criticism, the past having more value than the future, and the world seen vertically more than horizontally.

Arriving at a shared Understanding

Then how are we to arrive at a shared understanding of this "double split perception" of self and other? Are we two or one? How might we become one, with greater unity in our diversity? Can the perception of the other be objective and enlightened, not a simple mirror reflecting the introverted image of the self? Is there already a universal consciousness, a divine one, through whom we can come to perceive the world globally, outside this double mirror reflecting the image of ourselves in the other, and the image of the other as the mirror of the self?

A Century of Inclusion?

Therefore, the question for our steering committee and others is: the year 2000, located at the end of the 20th Century and the beginning of the 21st, whose year is it, and whose century will it be? Cultures live in the same physical time, but they do not live in the same historical period - historical time is not coterminous with space, nor can there be one homogeneous chronology for humanity. Rather, time is lived differently from culture to culture, with many different historical consciousness co-existing with each other. Each culture has its own historical course, and consequently its own historical consciousness. The "universal history" conceived by Herder, Kant, Hegel and the French Encyclopedists is a Eurocentric myth, the product of modern times, reflecting a period when the power-shift favoured Europe.

In a more global history - which only God could see synchronically, each cultural historical time has its own centre - thus, ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Canaan, India, Persia, China - namely, Asia came before Europe, and the East came before the West. Some contemporary philosophers of history would predict the decline of the West, like Spengler did in ***Der Untergang des Abendlandes***, others are also seeing the coming renaissance of the East. So to speak, if the "spirit of the world" traveled westward, it may now be continuing on to the East in a great global circle. The downfall of one block may be followed by the downfall of its opposite. Nothing is permanent in history - one period is ending, another is beginning. One culture is in eclipse, another is arising.

Lessons

Dear Sybille, these are the major lessons I have drawn from our multi-cultural work in the last five years: minimizing the centre/periphery dichotomy, curing our souls from the superiority/inferiority complex inherited from the past, liberating our minds from the eternal and unilateral relation between mastership and discipleship,

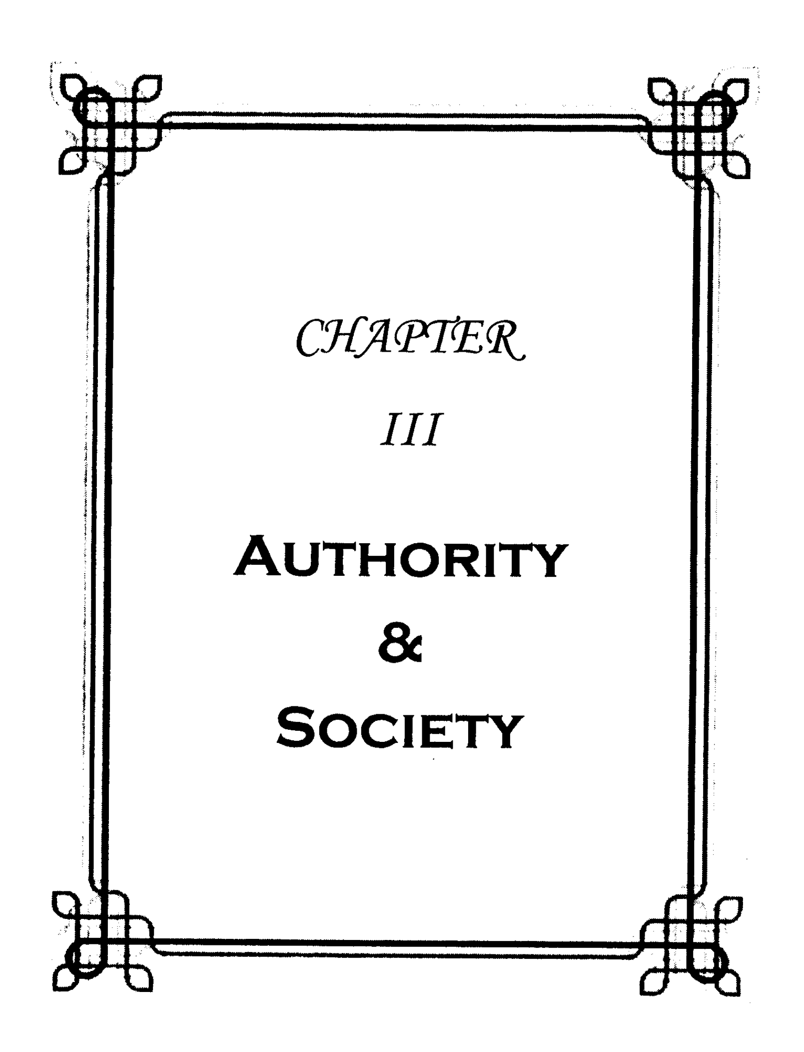
learning again from Christ the lesson of modesty and humility, as when he sat down and washed the feet of his disciples. At the same time, we face the disturbing barrier of arrogant scholarship - expressed in the constant desire to play the role of the objective subject, reifying the other as an object. There is no permanent subject/object relationship. This is only a power struggle, expressing itself partly in epistemological terms. After its power shift, the subject of today may become the object of tomorrow! And the object of yesterday may become the subject of tomorrow!

Prospects

This is one of the highest moments of our dialogue, interchanging the subject/object relationship with each other in a spirit of mutuality - at one moment the observer becomes the observed, and the observed becomes the observer. We may hope that one day the spirit of our steering committee might become the spirit of all mankind. This may also be the lesson we can draw for the year 2000 - that it might become the year for all peoples and cultures, a big step toward realizing their hopes and transcending their despairs, within a pluralist world, converging toward one common cause and common good! Solvitur in Excelsis!

Happy New Century!
Affectionately, Hassan
31 December 1999.





CHAPTER

III

AUTHORITY & SOCIETY

Islamic Spectrum as Historical Tension

Is there a mainstream Islam?

I- Introduction: Concepts and Timing

Stereotyped concepts are very detrimental for scholarship. A new concept such as fundamentalism may be operative at its beginning in the last three decades in the Muslim world, since the 1967 military defeat, highly used since the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 and still used to explain each event which occurs. It becomes more than a concept, magic word explaining everything. The concept becomes a dogma and the data changes. A time comes where the concept itself has to change to a more dynamic one to cope with the changing world. Sometimes the concept becomes a substitute to reality itself. And even more, sometimes reality is created by the concept to the point that it may be asked: isn't Islamic fundamentalism a phenomena created by a concept forged by scholars irrespective of their good or bad faith? Isn't Scholarship a manifestation of Intentionality?

Objectively, there is no mainstream Islam. It depends on the historical moment. Once it was ***Mu'tazilism*** in the first four centuries in Islam. Afterwards, it was ***Ash'arism*** for a longer period, almost one millennium till Islamic Reform movements since last century. It depends also on geography, ***Wahhabism*** in Arabian Peninsula, National Islam in North Africa, Arab Islam in Great Syria, a more

(*) Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sheraton Hotel, August 28-31, 1997.

liberal Islam in modern Egypt. There is a cultural Islam in Asia, a ritualistic Islam in Africa, a mystical Islam in Europe, a black Islam in America. The Muslim world is so diversified that it is very difficult to fix a mainstream Islam neither in history nor in geography, nor in worldview. Even Islamic fundamentalism which was thought to be a mainstream Islam two or three decades ago is no more a mainstream nowadays. There is now a post-fundamentalist Islam which goes sometimes against fundamentalism itself. Inside stereotyped Islamic fundamentalism there are different sub-fundamentalisms. It can be seen even that anti-Islamic trend is also Islamic fundamentalism in reverse. Western secularism and Islamic fundamentalism are two faces of the same coin.

Islamic thinking is not only political Islam but it includes also cultural Islam and even major trends in Islamic studies. Political Islam wants power while cultural Islam aims at enlightenment. New trends in Islamic studies want to renew Islamic methods of research and of thinking as a long term policy for a more sustainable renaissance. Fundamentalism may be not a mainstream Islam but a part of political Islam which itself is a part of a cultural Islam which itself is a part of Islam in history.

Some Western scholars consciously or unconsciously prefer to stay with a fixed concept such as fundamentalism, political Islam, resurgent Islam, Islamic power to facilitate the frame of reference. However, the simplicity of the concept sometimes appears incompatible with the complexity of the phenomena. Since reality is a material given and the concept is an operational artifice, the concept yields to reality. If the intention goes beyond the academic one, the stereotyped concept serves to characterize an enemy which may not exist. It helps only to focus the target to shoot at. Arab scholars may do likewise. They put all Islamic spectrum in one basket that of fundamentalism as some secular scholars would do, accusing Islamic diversity of interchanging roles, interplaying games, for a better mass-media campaign to embellish the image of Islamic fundamentalism making it more acceptable by the masses as

well as by the ruling elite. Even if there are sincere efforts to go beyond fundamentalism, to develop it and even to criticize it from within to diffuse it, such judgments freeze it again to exclude it, to deform it in the eye's of the masses and to make it an easy target to the political authority to shoot at with a legitimate reason that of terrorism. Therefore, some Western scholars work hand in hand with some Arab secular scholars to exterminate the phenomena for different reasons, internal or external.

Some writers begin analyzing fundamentalism as mainstream Islam in a comparative framework. If somebody is a sympathizer, he would spare Islam from this awful phenomena describing the first usage of the term in U.S.A and showing other fundamentalisms in Germany, England, France, some Asian countries and Israel. Fundamentalism is not an Islamic phenomena but a Worldwide one. If he is a historian he would trace the phenomena throughout Islamic history. If he is a modem historian, he would go back as far as to ***Ibn Taymiya***, the ***Wahhabis*** or to a more recent history, the gradual fall of the reformist movement, from ***al-Afghani to M. Abduh*** to ***Rashid Redah*** to ***Hassan al-Banna*** to ***Sayed Qutb*** to contemporary Islamic groups infiltrated by ***al-Mawdudi*** via ***Sayed Qutb***. The problem is what time span is more suitable for Islamic spectrum? Is it from the conflict between the revolution and Muslim Brothers in 1954? Is it from 1967 military defeat on? Is it from 1971 on when Sadat freed Muslim Brothers from jail to use them as a whip against the Nasserists after Nasser's death in 1970? Is it from 1981 on after the spectacular assassination of Sadat by the Jihad group? Is it a dead phenomena or still alive? Is it a current deeply rooted in mass-consciousness or sporadic bulbs erupting here and there? Who are the writers now? Who inherits the phenomena as a mainstream Islam transforming it to an Islamic spectrum?

Some Western scholars would sometimes have a double standard vision. When they study Islam they have in mind one monolithic Islam, a mainstream one as if Islam, religion and culture, people and

civilization did not reach yet the high standard of pluralism the West did. The same question concerning Christinanism does not exist since Christianaism is reduced to Western Christianism and since the West in its modern times is a pluralistic culture. Non-Western cultures specially African and Asian where most of the Muslim world lies are doomed to monlythism, predestined to unilateralism and pre-determined by a mainstream Islam? Motivationwise, isn't this the advantage of the self and the disadvantage of the other, the prestige of the subject on the less privileged object?

The concept of spectrum may be more adequate to Islam nowadays and even throughout history than that of mainstream. Spectrum means variations, pluralism, diversity, perspectives, faces, sides, angles of a huge landscape. However, a spectrum has one focal point, one center and one linkage. It is the whole problem of unity and diversity, in metaphysics, one and man in Ontology, Essence and Attributes in theology, substance and accidents in physics, the universal and the particular in logic. It is a structure in Reason and in Reality.

II- Spectrum of Islamic groups

It is clear that what is called Islamic group ***al-jama'a al-Islamiya*** is a generic term referring to several groups in plural. Some are very salient such as ***Jihad*** group whether by its spectacular action, Sadat's assassination, or by several small actions during longer time, mutual killing between them and the forces of security specially in ***Mellawe, Elmenia*** in Upper Egypt, or by their prominent figures, writers such as ***Mohamed abd al-Salam Faraj*** the author of the "absent duty" ***al-Farida al-Gha'iba***, ***Abbud al-Zumur***, the army officer jailed after Sadat's assassination and considered as the head of the military branch of the group in the Army, ***Muftis*** such as ***Omar Abd al-Rahman***, jailed in U.S.A after the bombing of the world trade center. This may be called the Algerian model. After several attacks here and there, assassination of innocent people,

shooting forces of security, Muslims and Copts, bombing churches, they may have been weakened, dismantled or frustrated. They may have been aware that underground, military and violent activities lead no where. They may have been more politically aware that the struggle against the state is a secondary contradiction, while the struggle against Israel and U.S.A. is a primary one. Secondary contradiction has to yield to primary contradiction.

A secret deal may have been concluded with the state to end the state of war between them and the state. They stop using violence against the state and in return the state frees their prisoners and stop hunting them. The state may use them to defend its new law concerning the relation between land owner and land tenant which gives the right to the land owner to change the lease according to the market, no more according to the old Nasserist law, seven times the amount of the tax, since the coming danger in the era of privatization does not come from Islamic fundamentalists as it was before but from the Nasserists still holding firm to the socialist laws of the revolution of 1952. The history repeated itself. The same deal was made at the beginning of Sadat's time after 15 may 1971 when Sadat freed the groups to get rid of their common enemy, the Nasserists. In all cases, the old image of the *Jihad* group as violent, terrorist and fanatic group may change to a more politicized opposition group, accepting the state and entering a deal with it.

Other groups are less spectacular [1]. They don't use violence. The conflict is rather internal between them for the leadership of the group rather than external with the state or with the society. They are more passive. Their way of struggle is to retreat from the impure society to a pure one outside it on its periphery, to live their utopian Islamic way even in a self-sustaining society, laboring the land,

(1) Other groups are less spectacular such as ***al-shawkiyyun***, ***al-Qutbiyyun***, the saved from the Hell ***al-Najun min al-nar***, stop and verify ***Kiff wa tabayan***, those who order doing good and prohibit doing bad ***al-Amirun bi al-Ma'ruf wa al-Nahun 'an al-Munkar***, called by the ministry of interior Apostasy and emigration ***al-Takfir wa al-Higra***...etc.

intermarrying between their members. The state did not refuse such a way of life and may have supported it by giving them the land. Why should the state reject such utopian Saint-Simonian Islamic way of life? Some of them, the Geuvarists, may have in mind the formation of a revolutionary cell outside urban areas and to expand gradually till they swallow big cities. It is also a dream which doesn't not hurt the state on the short run. The state had identified itself with the political regime which is not in direct threat. This is a mystical trend which existed in the past in the mystical orders and is repeating itself in Eastern Europe and Asia under the old socialist totalitarian regime, and which can be called the Asian model.

The ***Ur-group,*** the Umbrella organization for all Islamic groups, mainstream or dissident groups is the Muslim Brothers. In spite of its dissolution in 1954, it still exists whether underground or over ground, whether independent in spite of being outlawed or within the existing legal political parties such as labor party and formerly the ***Wafd*** party, whether inside on the national level or outside on the international level. Muslim Brothers itself is a whole spectrum from right to left with a center, without a sharp demarcation line. ***Mustafa Mashour*** can be considered as a representative of the right wing given his position ***vis à vis*** the Copts and on other issues. ***Ma'moun al-Hudeibi*** *can* he considered as a representative of the center given his moderate position ***vis à vis*** modern issues such as banking. ***Ysuf al-Quaradawi*** can he considered as center left given his position ***vis à vis*** distribution of wealth. ***Kamal Abu al-Majd*** is one of the most enlightened members who may be considered as between center left and left. The left, especially the radical left or the extreme left cannot be accepted in Muslim Brothers given the recent conflict between them and Nasser and the classical religious thought they are educated in as anti-communism, anti-socialism, anti-secularism. A leftist Muslim Brother becomes an Islamic writer anchored in Islam and open to modern problems and major challenges of the time. He can come from Muslim brothers to the

left (***Hassan Hanafi***) or from the left to Islam (***Abd al-Rahman al-Sharkawi***). This can be called the Egyptian model par excellence.

Muslim Brothers spectrum is still capable of producing lots of colors and shades such as the effort to form ***Wasat*** party accepting the democratic game, the multiparty system, transforming Islam to a socio-political blueprint and being open to political dialogue and coalition. They even did not use the word Islam as the Tunisian partners called themselves the ***Nakda*** party, since the constitution prohibits the formation of religious parties. However, the state refused and even arrested the founding committee members and accused them of forming an illegal Islamic party. The trial is done with the connivance of the mother group, Muslim Brothers. Therefore, the Islamic groups in Egypt have a point. They reject violence and underground cells as the state requires. And the state rejects their coming into open and forming a legal party. The two possible alternatives have been rejected. It is clear that the state is cornered. It is weakened by the violence of Islamic groups and its image as a stable society is tarnished by the number of killing each month including tourists. And the ruling party will be the victim of the democratic election given the popularity of Islamic movement and the ***Wafd*** party and the unpopularity of the ruling party. It appears that it is a real power struggle between the state and its political opponents. Islamic, liberal ***(Wafd)*** and Nasserists. The political regime still uses the falsification of national election to maintain power. If the democratic game is used by the Muslim Brothers even as tactics, it is rejected by the state, not only with Muslim Brothers but also with all opposition groups. This may be called the Jordanian, Yemeni, Kuwaiti, Lebanese and Palestinian model.

III- Spectrum of Islamic free writers

Since the assassination of the ***Hassan al-Banna*** in February 1949 by the king and the hanging of ***Sayed Qutb*** in August 1965 by Nasser, Muslim Brothers lost their thinker. Some other free Islamic

writers sympathized with the Brothers, sharing the same point of departure but not the political organization began to fill the theoretical gap in Islamic reformist thinking. As the spectrum of the Brothers stretches from the right to the left the spectrum of free Islamic writers is likewise. There are no sharp distinctions between the three colors of the spectrum, however, different shades can be seen. A writer can be on the right in general and have a central or even leftist position on other issues like ***Mobammed Emara*** who represents the right on the dogmatic level and has more leftist position on some social issues like the new law organizing the relation between landlord and land tenant in favor of land tenant, may be because of his previous Marxist background. Some of these writers were former Marxists such as ***Adel Hussein, Abd al-Rahman al-Sharkawi***. Some others were former Muslim Brothers such as ***Mohamed al-Ghazali*** and the group who founded ***al-MusLim al-Mu'asir*** Review in Kuwait by Egyptians emigrant Muslim Brothers.

Some right wing writers are like ***Mohamed al-Ghazali, Mohamed Emara***. The first is very anti-secular. He was-known in his early days as anti-communist, anti-socialist and anti-liberalist. From the West nothing comes except darkness as he wrote "Darkness from the West". He worked in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia infiltrated by the ***Wahhabi*** Islam. He supported Saddam in his struggle against U.S.A. and then supported Kuwait and Saudi Arabia after Iraq invasion. He may be one of the intellectual sources of the FIS when he was the rector of the Islamic university in the Costantin. His spectacular declaration in the court during the trial of the assassins of ***Faraj Fouda***, that any Muslim can apply Islamic law, the penal code, if the state fails to do so, which implies the legitimation of ***Fouda*** assassination by young members of Muslim groups, and for the future, gives green light for the physical liquidation of all those who are condemned by the groups as apostates, such as ***Nasr hamid Abu Zeid***. He was behind the banning of ***Awlad Haritna*** of ***Naguib Mahfouz***. He was a preacher not a thinker, a ***sheikh*** not an intellectual, an orator not a scholar.

Mohamed Emara was a former Marxist then an Arab nationalist during Nasserist Era, then Islamist during Islamic Resurgence. He is very anti-secular, anti-Western, anti-liberal and anti-modernist. Although he began as a scholar, having a Ph.D. from ***Dar al-Ulum*** on political philosophy in ***Mu'tazilism,*** he is becoming more and more a mere apologetic to Islamic fundamentalism in a more convincing way. He is a very prolific writer and editor, without methods of research and critical editions for the pioneers of Islamic reformers. He has over fifty books, mostly for the general reader. He is now a free lancer, more than a free thinker.

Mustafa Mahmoud, a medical doctor also began as a Marxist and as an atheist and then converted to belief and dogmatic Islam. He is now combining science to faith, defending faith by using natural sciences specially Botonics and zoology. He shows in his favor TV show "Science and faith" some American documentaries on natural science commenting on them using Qur'anic verses to substantiate Omniscience and Omnipotence of God. The West has science not faith. That is why the West fell into atheism. The Muslims have faith without science but they can transfer Western science to score two points more than the West. God created the West for the Muslims to take benefit from its science to be added to the benefits of faith. Saudi Arabia is supporting such a trend in order to preserve Islam purely textural and import Western values as prolegomena to the importation of Western commodities. The danger of such a trend is the dependence on Western science. The West produces and the Muslim World transfers. It gives illusions to the Muslims that they are superior to the West, since the West has science without faith and the Muslims have faith with science. If science changes other Qur'anic verses or interpretations are made to cope with these new changes, linking the permanent which is revelation to the changing, which is science. Science will be the monopoly of the West and ignorance will be the privilege of the Muslims.

Beside this right wing in the spectrum of Muslim writers there are some who are more to the center like ***Ysuf al-Quradawi***, ***Fahmi Huweidi***, ***Mohamed Selim al-Awa*** and the writers of ***al-Muslim al-Mu'asir*** that was a monthly review at the beginning and then became a quarterly. They present a more open Islam, linked to the world. They practice ***al-Ijtihad***, even in the most up-to-date issues such as coning, brain death and organ transplantation. They criticize the violent practices of Islamic groups, putting them in their social setting. They are very critical of the open door policy, of privatization and of the free market economy defending Islamic socialism based on religion and ethical grounds. They have a very advanced view on land ownership, income redistribution of wealth and gradual taxation proportionally to income. Their scope on Islam is very wide, going from Egypt to Morocco Westwards, and to China Eastwards. Islam is analyzed as a socio-political and cultural phenomena not as Islam ***per se***. ***Fiqh*** is seen as a historical product of the past, containing personal opinions of the jurists at their time and not necessarily binding to all times. Each time may have its own ***Fiqh***. This relativistic stand helps in dedagmatizing and deabsolutizing the conservatist concept of law. ***Mohmed Moro***, the editor of ***al-Makhtar al-Islami***, falls into this group, with a stronger accent on the critique of secularism and critical thinkers of Islamic tradition.

A more left wing Muslim writers is represented by some former Marxists such as ***Adel Hussein***, the former editor of ***al-Sh'ab*** newspaper and the actual secretary general of the labor party. Others may belong to the old ***Wafd*** left wing like ***Tarek al-Bishri***, an eminent lawyer in the Supreme Court concentrating a lot on the national unity between Muslims and Copts. ***Galal Amin***, an economist, Arab nationalist and Nasserist discovered the importance of Islam as a political mass-culture capable of carrying an Arab progressist unionist project. ***Mohamed Reda Muharram***, professor of engineering at ***al-Azhar*** university combines Islam with socio-political criticism,

denouncing the dual practices of religious establishment and its connivance with political authority. ***Ref'at Sayyed Ahmed***, a historian and scholar at ***Banha*** university and director of research center at labor party, is preoccupied with contemporary Islamic revolution such as that of ***Mekka Haram*** in November 1979 lead by ***Juhaiman al-'Oteibi***, ***Khalid Muhi al-Din*** the secretary general of ***Tajamu'*** party. Although a Marxist, he wrote on Islam as a progressist movement in history defending the poor and oppressed. ***Al-Yasar al- Islami*** Review and the Islamic revolutionary writings of ***Hassan Hanafi*** can be also considered as an example of such trend in his major Arabic works "From Dogma to Revolution" (5 vols.), "Religion and Revolution in Egypt " (8 vols.), and in English "Religious dialogue and Revolution", "Islam in the modern World" (2 vols.). This Islamic left trend is falsely accused of being a Marxist Islam, as if progress, social justice, labor as a source of value ...etc. are Marxist property. ***Sheikh Abdallah al-Quseimi*** from Saudi Arabia and exiled in Egypt also represents a certain kind of an Islamic left, open, direct and shocking, defending ***Iblis*** as a free thinker and calling for natural religion as identic to revealed religion.

IV- Spectrum of Institutional Islam

The institutional Islam is this one represented essentially by ***al-Azhar*** and as official Islam in the mass-media. There is also a spectrum in this legalistic Islam. A right convervatist trend is represented by ***al-Azhar*** scholar front ***Jabhat Ulama' al-Azhar***, originally an NGO taking care of ***al-Azhar*** professors and their families, but went beyond its social mandate. They consider themselves the custodians of faith against liberal, secular and modernist thinker, artists and writers. They were against all liberal ***Sheikhs*** of ***al-Azhar*** like ***Shaltout***. They also declared ***Taha Hussein*** as apostate and lately ***Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid*** and ***Hassan Hanafi***. ***Ysuf al-Badri***, a lawyer declared lately as insane by the court, filed also forty legal suits against Artists and writers when ***al-Hisba*** law

was still in the hand of any one before the state takes it over. The group of lawyers headed by ***Abd al-Samad Semeda*** filed a suit against ***Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid*** as apostate to be separated from his wife. Islam in the mass-media represented by a TV figure ***Mohamed Metwalli al-Sha'rawi*** is a more magical, mystical, eschatological Islam aiming at the monopoly of popular imagination. God, Revelation and the prophet are figurized as popular heroes in cultures. The masses are so enflamed by these splendors of faith. Spiritual talk, ***Hadith al-Rouh*** broadcasted five minutes before the evening news presents a conservatist, ritualistic, eschatological and mythical Islam away from political Islam. The council of Islamic Research censored some of the novels and writings as anti-religious even without a court order as it happened with some works of ***Mohamed Hassan al-Ashmawi***.

The center institutional Islam is represented by some ***al-azhar*** professors following the school of ***Mohamed Abduh***, depending on reason and aiming at social reform. They stress also the importance of ***al-Ijtihad*** based on the common welfare. They do not directly intervene in politics but they concentrate like ***M. Abduh*** on the reform of educational system, teaching of Arabic language, the reform of court system ...etc. They represent a minority group in front of the wide spread conservatism supported by Saudi Arabia. The minister of Endowment ***Mahmoud Zakzouk***, the Dean of the faculty of theology ***Usul al-Din***, ***Abd al-Mu'ti Bayyoumi*** are some representatives of this school. They give and take with other intellectual trends from within Islam and from without. They denounce violence, apostatizing any body in the name of Islam. No clear-cut social commitments are visible. Some professors of ***Dar al-Ulum*** may fall into such category such as ***Hassan al-Shafi'i,*** who is originally an ***Azharist***, ***Mohamed al-Sayed al-Galayand***, both are advocate of Reformist Islam depending on ***Usul al-Fiqh***.

It is rare to find a left wing in institutional Islam. Only one ***Sheikh*** appeared during Nasser's era labeled as the Red ***Sheikh***,

Mohamed Souad Galal. He was for social justice, equality, freedom of thinking and compulsory ***Shura***. ***Sheikh Mostapha Asi*** who represents the progressist Islam in the ***Tajammu*** party, a combination of Marxists and Nasserists had troubles with the religious establishment preventing him from leading the prayers as ***Imam*** and delivering Friday speeches. The tradition is dying out after the Nasserist era ended and the upsurgence of modern conservatism. Left Islam presented by ***Hassan Hanafi*** can fall also in such category.

V- The New Salafis

This name is given to some progressive national thinkers, still national Marxists who are struggling for the formation of a national front, a wide national alliance between all progressive forces, Nasserism, Marxism, nationalism and Islam as a cultural and popular force. Some of them are ***Anwar Abd al-Malek***, ***William Sulaiman***, ***Mahmoud Amin al-Alim***, ***Mohamed Sayed Ahmed***, ***Salah Issa***, ***Mohamed Ouda***, ***Ismail Sabri Abdallah***, ***Abd al-Azim Anis*** and the late ***Shuhdi Atiyyah***. *They* are all defenders of a national progressive and popular Islam against reactionary, Western and Saudi Islam. Islam is the main formative element in the national culture. Islam by nature is anti-colonialist. All the reformist movements were launched against Western Colonialism. All national liberation movements in Morocco, Algeria, Egypt Yemen, Palestine, Sudan and Libya came out in the form of religious reform. Islam is a part of the historical culture of the people. It preserved its own identity through the ages. Islam is not only a religion but also a way of life, a social action and a historical movement. It is based on national unity between Muslims, Christians and Jews, between all Arab tribes ***al-Aws wa al-Khazraj***, between ***al-Muhajirun*** (people in ***Mekka***) ***wa al-Ansar*** (people in ***Madina***). The ***Quran*** would describe this national front as the indestructible tie "***al-Urwa al-Wuthqa***".

The new ***Salafis*** contain not only Muslims but also Christians specially Copts such as ***Anwar Abd al-Malek*** and ***William Soleiman***.

In Egypt there is an Ur-religion since **Tutankhamun**, based on unity, unity of God, unity of the people. Islam and Christianity on the soil of Egypt is one Egyptian Religion, that of hydraulic societies, Mesopotamia and China. Time is open to Eternity. The state is the guarantor of Nationhood. The army is the cornerstone of the state. The people are homogeneous as in the homogeneity of the land. Religious Tension between Muslims and Copts is something alien to the country, an external conspiracy to threat the national unity.

Nasserism is a new transfiguration of National Islam. It began by the revolution of the army in 1952, a renewal of ***Mohamed Ali*** state of the XIXth century, in a historical continuation from ***Ramses*** to ***Saladin***. Bandung conference in 1955 was a new turn in a historical process, peoples of Africa and Asia were paving the way of non-alignment during the cold war. Muslim Brothers did not understand that Nasserism was a new transfiguration of Islam. They sacrificed the revolution for a power struggle in which they were the losers in 1954. The communists took the same path in 1959 and were jailed. In jail they changed and came out in 1964 supporting Nasser and became an active party in the Arab socialist union. Socialism was also a new transfiguration in Islam in modern times. Arab Unity is a part of Islamic unity. The struggle against the Zionist West is a permanent struggle against hegemony and alienation. A whole conspiracy was made against Nasser in 1967 which caused the defeat and against the Soviet Union in 1991 which caused the complete collapse of the socialist block.

VI- Fundamentalism in reverse

This expression refers to anti-fundamentalist writings which reject completely the fundamentalist discourse replacing it with another radical, absolute and fundamental secular discourse. The two discourses exclude each other, the first is a religious fundamentalist discourse, and the second is a secular fundamentalist discourse or

fundamentalism in reverse. It varies between three types, from within religious discourse or from without as a reaction to it.

The first secular discourse came out of ***Ali Abd al-Razek*** in his famous book "Islam and the principle of government" in 1925 following ***Ataturk*** revolution ending the ***kalifate*** and defending secularism between 1923, 1926. In the early fifties, ***Khaled Mohamed Khaled*** followed in his famous book "from here, we begin" advocating the separation between religious authority and political authority. The first ended by the prophet, the second begun by the fist ***Kalif*** and the subsequent others. ***Mohamed Ahmed Khalafallah***, ***Hussein Amin***, ***Mohamed Said al-Ashmawi*** follow the same path for different motives. The first wanted to legitimize Arab Nationalism using religion as one of its legitimizing devices. The second tries to dig in history to desacralize its course. The third is only polemic against Islamic fundamentalism especially in the domain of law. Some of these writings are hailed in the West, translated and diffused as a witness, i.e. how to depoliticize Islam from within.

The second discourse is held by secular historians who want to rewrite Islamic history as a profane not as a sacred history. ***Mahmoud Ismail*** in his trilogy "Sociology of Islamic thought" tries to describe the origins and the development of Islamic thought anchored in trade roads and tribal conflicts, using historical material analysis as a good Marxist. ***Sayyed al-Qemani*** in his several works such as "Tradition and myth", "The prophet Abraham and the unknown history", "The Hachemite party and the foundation of Islamic state", uses the historical method to prove the continuity in history of religions from ancient Egyptian religion till Islam passing by Greco-Roman religions, Judaism and Christianity. Religion is the product of history as well as of political manipulation. His graduate studies at saint Joseph in Beirut made him a good scholar in comparative history of religions but victim of historicism. ***Khalil Abd Elkarim*** is an enlightened lawyer, who used also the historical method to find the origins of Islamic law in is work "Historical roots

of Islamic law". He was a partisan of the Islamic left as he expressed it in "Intellectual foundations of Islamic left", and then switched to historicism. This discourse is a natural reaction against the sanctification of history, showing the profane within the sacred. It helps in demythologizing religion and desacralizing its history. ***Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid*** combines history with discourse analysis to study religious texts, Qur'anic, theological, mystical, legal or even contemporary Islamic discourse to show its genesis and structure. The discourse has its own mechanism which can be analyzed using modem linguistics, semantics, semiotics, phonetics, syntax ...etc.

The third discourse is the radical secular discourse, the prototype of fundamentalism in reverse. It is a rejectionist discourse like the fundamentalist one. No compromise between the two discourses is possible. ***Fouad Zakaria***, ***Gaber Asfour***, ***Ahmed Abd al-Mu'ti Higazi, Ghali Shukri*** are only few names. They see Islamic fundamentalism as backward, obscurantist, obsolete, terrorist, fanatic, irrational, integrnist, ...etc, the same labels of the state official discourse discrediting political Islam and excluding it as a political power. It is a discourse expressing Saudi, Sudanese or Iranian Islam or interest. They deny such spectrum. All Islamists are the same. No differences exist between moderate Islam and extremist Islam, between right Islam and left Islam, between progressive revolutionary Islam and reactionary conservatist Islam. The enlightened Islam is only a mass-media campaign to let the people swallow fundamentalist Islam. They depend on Western Enlightenment. The word has been much misused till it required a bad connotation similar to governmental. All of them are state high officers in the ministry of culture which by function made itself the tool against the direct enemies of the regime.

VII- The Historical Tension

This spectrum in Islamic thinking is very normal since it expresses a historical tension in Islamic culture between two forces,

one forward, the other backward, one to the future, the other to the past, a normal tension since the Muslim world is living this century, its renaissance, the conflict between the old and the new, the fathers and the sons, the classic and the modern. This historical tension is behind Islamic spectrum. It is a tension in time which expresses itself as a tension in thinking and practicing, in methods and in behavior. It is not a matter of choice or of hazard but a historical necessity, a historical period every cultures passes through, that of renaissance after reformation, occurred in the Muslim World last century, that of ***al-Afghani*** and ***M. Abduh***, ***al-Kawakibi*** and ***Ahmed Khan***.

There is big theoretical tension between text and reality. A fundamentalist discourse is based on the text as an argument of authority while a post-fundamentalist one is based on reality, the analysis of socio-political setting of Muslim societies. The difficulty of the text is taking it out of context, linguistically and historically. Any text can be used differently according to the interpreter, while factual analysis is based on direct evidences. It is the same tension between tradition and reason. A fundamentalist classical discourse is based on the previous dogmatic and legal tradition, while a post-fundamentalist one depends on rational analyses and the argument of reason. There is also a third tension in the focus of the Worldview between theocentrism and anthropocentrism. The fundamentalist discourse is still theocentric. God speaks not man, God wills not the fundamentalist. Any alternative discourse would be against God. The post-fundamentalist discourse is more human. It confesses that it is a human discourse, right or wrong, which permits dialogue and revision. A fourth tension exists between Dogma and Ideology. A fundamentalist discourse is a dogmatic one. A dogma is a matter of belief, obedience and resignation, while a post-fundamentalist discourse has a clear awareness of its ideological orientation. In traditional societies, theology plays the role of ideology in a modern society. The fifth tension is between rituals and morals. Fundamentalism has a realistic view on human behavior, irrespective of piety and good morals. A modern discourse is more oriented

towards morals and good behavior, the internal acts of the hearts as well as the external useful social acts for the self and for the others.

The practical tension behind Islamic spectrum is also manifold. First, there is a tension between theocracy ***Hakimiyya*** and Democracy. The fundamentalist discourse is still holding to the rule of God as if God himself descends and rules without the intervention of human beings and the invention of human means such as ***Shura***, mutual consultation. A post-fundamentalist discourse is more oriented towards democracy. Political power represents people not God, ***Vox Dei Vox Populi***. That is why some groups accept the democratic game and shy away from ***coup d'etats*** or underground secret movements. A second tension is between changing society by changing political authority or by changing the minds of the people. A fundamentalist discourse still desires to change society by changing political authority. Once the top is changed the bottom does. While a post-fundamentalist discourse is more oriented towards the people to change their minds, to reconstruct their mass-culture to cope with progress. A third tension is the dialectic between all or nothing. A fundamentalist discourse aims at the destruction of the existing order to build a brand new one. There is no compromise between right and wrong, between good and evil, or between light and darkness. On the other side, a post-fundamentalist discourse aims at changing reality gradually towards more perfection, a new status closer to the Islamic Ideals. A fourth tension is between fanaticism and dialogue. A fundamentalist discourse is an absolute one. It does not compromise or create a dialogue with other discourses. It expresses a psychological state of the oppressed, the marginalized and the secluded. The legal existence of the groups is denied. ***A fortiori***, their discourse is a counter denial. A post-fundamentalist discourse is more open for dialogue, interchanging its terminology with other discourses, liberal, socialist or nationalist. It changes from time to time according to the changes in reality. A fifth practical tension is between open and secret Islamic activity. A fundamentalist discourse till now expresses an underground

mentality. Once the groups are still hunted by the forces of security, they have to hide as the prophet did in his early years. The ***Shi'ites*** including the absent ***Imam*** are waiting for a more appropriate time to reappear. A post-fundamentalist discourse is formulated in an open legal status, a certain kind of a cultural Islam, a part of a historical movement, a legal activity guaranteed by the constitution and asking other discourses for dialogue in order to establish common terms.

Therefore, it is difficult to find a mainstream Islam except that one in the hearts of the masses, a mere possibility, a potentiality which can be actualized in different and even opposing ways. Islamic spectrum makes room for that type of the historical tension that people feel nowadays. In a moment of stagnation, nothing appears except some sporadic smoke indicating an underground volcano.



The Dialectics of Authoritarianism and Liberalism in Contemporary Islamic Movements

A phenomenological survey

1. Introduction: object and method

The dialectics of authoritarianism and liberalism in contemporary Islamic discourse is a certain kind of phenomenological survey based on a swing theory in contemporary Islam. When Islamic movement is illegitimate the authoritarian Islam expresses itself in certain slogans. The term "Nomocracy" means simply the rule of the law ***Sharia*** called also ***Hakimiyya,*** derivative from the verb ***Hakama*** which means to judge. Three major slogans became symptomatic to most Islamic political movements: the Rule is to God, ***al-Hakimiyya lillah,*** the application of Islamic law ***Tatbik al-Sharia al-Islamiyya,*** Islam is the solution ***al-Islam huwa al-Hal,*** or Islam is the alternative ***al-Islam huwa al-Badil.*** When the Islamic movement is legitimate, liberal Islam expresses itself also with some slogans such: Islamic enlightenment ***al-Islam al-Mustanir*** or Islamic left ***al-Yasar al-Islami.***

(*) University of Georges Town, Center of Arabic Studies, 25th Anniversary, Georges Town. March 2000.

These primary reflections are based on the analysis of living experiences of the Islamic political movements lived by its members and groups and shared by the researcher as a scholar and as a citizen. Pure history is a left-over of the XIXth century historicism. Apolegetism pro or con is not a reflexive analysis but a prior commitment, a one-sided struggle, contrary to an "objective" and a holistic view of the matter. A genuine combination of scholarship and citizenship is hoped for without giving the priority to one on the other [1].

2. Western Liberalism

Contemporary Islamic movements began already in the XVIII century initiated by Mohammed ibn abd al-Wahab in the center of the Arabian Peninsula purifying ***Tawhid*** from all forms of associations ***Shirk*** through mediation between human action and Divine Will, and based on a raw textual arguments from the Qur'an and the Hadith without any rational argumentation, experimental evidence or historical analysis. He was also eager to found an Islamic tribal rule, a common model in Arabia. His major two motivations were Text and Power. Both are from the same authoritative structure: the authority of Holy Scriptures and the authority of political power. The absence of argument of reason and of peoples initiative were behind the Wahhabi authoritarian model in religion and politics, in theory and action. This authoritarianism comes both from the tribal Bedouin structure as well as from the inherited unilateral tradition coming from Ibn Taymiya and Ahmed ibn Hanbal.

In India, Ahmed Khan conceived another contemporary Islamic movement, Western liberalism model based on modern science in a modern liberal state. India was a part of the British Empire and had to cope with the same requirements of modernity. Science and Empire, Reason and the West, look more liberal in appearance.

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Anxieties of scholarship and citizenship 2 Vol. I- Tradition, Time and Modernity, II- Contemporary Arabic Thought, Dar Keba', Cairo, 1998 (Arabic).

Science requires free thinking and the Empire is the custodian of Parliamentarism. In reality, the whole movement was pro-Western in general and pro-British in particular. The authoritarian model continued, switching from the imitation of the past to the imitation of the future, from the authority of the Tradition to the authority of Modernity. Since Ahmed Khan did not struggle against British colonialism in India, his movement did not generate liberalism as a historical mood. Since there was no struggle against hegemony on the outside, particularism continued on the inside. Enlightenment was that of reason, not of reality, the work of the elite, not of the masses, beginning by the individual, not by the groups. Sir Ahmed Khan was a prominent educator, the founder of Aliqra University, not a freedom fighter, neither on the public sphere nor on the private sphere.

Al-Afghani followed, conceiving Islam against colonialism outside and despotism inside. He initiated a whole liberation movement all over the Arab and Muslim World. Islam is a revolutionary ideology against all forms of authoritarianism, external hegemony or internal dictatorship. The message is clear and relevant, emotional and touchy.

Although he stayed in Egypt almost six years with an interval, his ideas were behind Orabi Revolution who said in Abdin palace in front of the Khedive Tawfik; "God created us free, not inherited land. I swear by God that we will never by enslaved from today on" [1].

In spite of the failure of the revolution and the occupation of Egypt by the British, his disciples continued on his teachings such as Abdallah al-Nadim and Adib Ishak. Freedom is against oppression but in a double facet. The struggle against external oppression feeds the struggle against the internal one. The first is easier than the second. Fighting the foreigner is more natural than fighting the national citizen.

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Gamal al-Din al-Afghani, a centenary 1897-1997, Dar Keba', Cairo 1998 (Arabic).

If Abdallah al-Nadim and Adib Ishak continued on struggling against colonialism from outside and oppression from inside, Mohammad Abdu, the most illustrious disciple of al-Afghani, was reluctant to pursue his master's project. The revolution failed and Egypt was occupied. He preferred to pave the way for a more enlightened Islam based on reason. He continued on to be an ***Ah'arite*** in theory of unity of God ***Tawhid,*** but he became a ***Mu'tazilite*** in the theory of justice, switching half-way from traditionalism to modernism, from predestination to human will, from the argument of authority to the argument of reason. As a friend of lord Cromer he was condemned to exile for three years in Beirut, as a teacher in ***Jam'iyat al-Makasid al-Islamiya*** where he wrote ***Risalat al-Tawhid.***

However, the revolutionary Islamic ideology of al-Afghani generated in Egypt a national ideology, "Egypt for the Egyptians", becoming the father of the Egyptian national party of Mostapha Kamel and Mohammed Farid. Sa'ad Zaghlul was the disciple of Abdu who wrote also the national party blueprint. This national struggle led to the success of the 1919 revolution against the British and the formulation of the 1923 constitution against the absolute power of the Khedive, inaugurating a glorious era of liberalism.

Liberalism in Turkey in 1923 became victorious putting an end to the Khalifate and the ***Millet*** system in Istanbul, but, Western model and anti-tradition, that came from without not generated from within, it was Ataturk national secular style not Afghani Islamic national style, which was successful in Egypt. Ataturk changed master, from Islamic traditionalism to Western secularism, from the authority of the masses to the authority of the elite, from the authoritarian Khalifa to the authoritarian Army, both in Istanbul. The central power did not change. Decentralization, a democratization on the administrative level proposed by al-Afghani, did not succeed. Ali abd al-Razek in "Islam and the principles of government" ***al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm*** wanted to repeat in Egypt the Turkish model as

well as Khaled Mohammed Khaled in "From here we begin" ***Min Huna Nabda'***. *The* same trend is still carried on by contemporary secularists working in ministry of culture to give an alternative to the slogans of Islamic movements.

Rashid Reda, the eminent disciple of Mohammed Abdu, reacted against Western secularism and became traditionalist, ***Salafi*** since reformism advocated by him and his master did not succeed. He even went back to discover the roots of traditionalism in Mohammed ibn abd al-Wehab who discovered his roots, not in al-Alusi in Iraq or in al- Shawkani in Yemen but in Ibn Taymia and his disciple Ibn al-Qayyim, both already have found their roots in Ahmed ibn Hanbal. Modern ***Salafi*** movement was strengthened by stretching its roots in deep history.

Hassan al-Banna lived in Ismailiya seeing the British troops on the banks of Suez Canal and the big British military base in ***Sharkiya,*** in *al-Tal al-Kabir.* He began to conceive Islam again as al-Afghani did, in a simple way, creed and law, theory and practice inside, and a struggle against colonialism outside, not only in Egypt but also in all parts of the Muslim world including Palestine. He also consciously or unconsciously wanted to complete al-Afghani big project by building the Islamic revolutionary party al-Afghani was unable to build because of his forced travels, the other side of the Islamic revolutionary ideology. He was charismatic in recruiting the members of the Muslim Brothers which he founded in 1928. In less than twenty years, the society became the major political organizations in Egypt after the ***Wafd*** party. It was in the forties a part of the national movement in Egypt, Syria, Sudan, Jordan, Yemen and in other parts of the Arab and Muslim world. It had links with ***Jama'at Islamiya*** in Pakistan and ***Fida'iyan*** Islam in Iran. The free officers had contacts with them prior to the revolution in 1952. The Brothers were aware of the revolution, its principles, leaders and even timing. They were given the tasks of guarding Embassies and foreign institutions in Cairo on the eve of the revolution. After the

revolution they were considered the revolutionary popular organization since the free officers had not form their party then. Sayyed Qutb who joined the Brothers just before the revolution was proposed to be the head of liberation organization ***Hay'at al Tahrir*** by Nasser. Almost half of the revolutionary council, twelve members, were Muslim brothers. Nasser did not dissolve them in 1953 as he did with the rest of the political parties to get rid of the ***Wafd*** party, given the trust put in them since their participation in the war in Palestine in 1948 side by side with the Egyptian army, and in the popular resistance in Suez Canal in 1951 with some free officers such as Kamal Refa't and Kamal al-Din Hussein.

3. From Liberalism to Authoritarianism

The assassination of Hassan al-Banna in February 1949 did shake the brothers. In his life, there was already a split group of Abd al-Rahman al-Sanadi who wanted to form a paramilitary secret organization ***Tanzim Sirri*** to defend the Brothers in the time of persecution and against rival political parties and may be against the Palace. Hassan al-Banna was against them, discrediting their attitude and describing them as "neither brothers nor Muslims". He wanted to get rid of them by annexing them to "Young Egypt" party which had a similar paramilitary organization, "the green shirts".

Sayyed Qutb was a prominent figure in Egyptian intellectual and political life. He began his career as a romantic and nationalist poet in the twenties with two collections of poems. Also he wrote imaginative stories for children. In early thirties, 1931, he was presented by Mahdy Allam, the dean of the faculty of liberal arts as a prominent literary critic before his lecture "the vocation of the poet in life". During fifteen years he continued on his literary theoretical and applied works [1]. He took sides with the moderns as such as al-'Akkad, against the traditionalists, such as Taha Hussein. He was the

(1) Such as: Literary criticism, its principles and methods, 1945; Aesthetic images in the Qur'an, 1946; Resurrection scenes in the Qur'an, 1947.

center of national thought writing in several ***Wafd*** and Marxist magazines. Till now he was not an Islamic thinker nor a member of the Brothers. He discovered the aesthetic dimension in the Qur'an, which was the major feature in his volumunous commentary "***Fi Zilal al-Qur'an***". Then he began to discover the socialist aspect in Islam in "Social justice in Islam" in 1949 followed by "The struggle between Islam and capitalism" and "World peace and Islam" in early fifteen before the revolution.

The first shift in his thought occurred after his visit to USA as an educator for a year. The cultural shock was tremendous. The dualistic aspect in his thinking originated by a radical opposition between Islam and the West, theism and atheism, certitude and conjective, absolutism and relativism, right and wrong, true and false, ...etc.

Shortly before the revolution Sayyed Qutb joined the Brothers to fill the ideological gap in the society after the assassination of Hassan al-Banna, in spite of the opposition of the "Guidance bureau". After the 1952 revolution he has been proposed as the head of the "liberation Rally", the new popular organization of the revolution. He has been asked to give a series of lectures on the radio. He wrote a short blueprint for the brothers at the demand of the revolution which spared the brothers from dissolution applied to political parties. Once the split between the revolution and the Brothers occurred in 1954, a power struggle on political decision, and when the Brothers sided themselves with Naguib against Nasser and when Sayyed Qutb was jailed after the assassination trial of Nasser in 1954, a shift in his thought under the influence of torture did occur strengthening his previous dualistic thought, applied this time inside Muslim society between goods and the evils, Islam and ***Jahliya***. His reading in prison of Abu Al-A'la al-Mawdudi, "The four terms in the Qur'an" waked him up: ***Al-Hakimiya, al-Rabbaniya, al-Uluhiya, al-Ubudiya***". Both had the same psychological status, the separation ***Mufasala*** between Muslims and Hindus in India, and the

separation between Islam and ***Jahiliya*** in Egypt [1].

A new authoritarian trend began to appear in prison by Shukry Mustafa who killed the minister of endowments Sheikh al-Thahabi in 1976 because he dared to criticize in a pamphlet of the ministry this new authoritarian discourse represented by ***al-Takfir wa al-Hijra*** group. A similar trend was formed in the big prison, namely society, first in Jordan by Nabahani the founder of the Islamic liberation party ***Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami***. His spectacular act was the military academy take over in 1974. A third similar discourse was formulated in the small prison cell and in the big society cell by ***Jihad*** group which assassinated President Sadat in October 1981. The same trend continued on in all known or unknown violent groups taking over Assiut city hall or executing Luxor massacre. The Northern states of Nigeria fell into the same trap in the name of application of Islamic law generating mass killing between Muslims and Christians. Indonesia followed the same line. The Christians were seen as erogenous while Islam is identified with national cohesion. Islamization is equal to Indonesiation the name of Panticila once the political regim is strong and the leader is charismatic enough as it is the case now in Malaysia.

The case of Algeria is the most salient example of double authoritarianism from the Islamic movements, the salvation front and secular state. No compromise solves the national reconciliation without any political dialogue on the big issue of the sovereignty and the legitimization of the state. The salvation front demands to be in power by force after the cancellation of the municipal election they won by the army or at least they desire new elections to bring them back to power. The political regime symbolized by the army wants to be in power being afraid of the authoritarian type of the salvation front. The two authoritarian claims collided in the most cruel civil

(1) Hassan Haanafi: the impact of al-Mawdudi and Sayyed Qutb on contemporary Islamic movements, Islam and revolution in Egypt 1952, 1981, vol. V, Contemporary Religious movements, Madbuly, Cairo, 1989 pp. 123-300 (Arabic).

war in which every body was the loser including the people of Algeria, every contender wants to rule in the name of Democracy!

Once Islamic movements are in power the authoritarian discourse appears as it is the case in Sudan with the national front and in Afghanistan with the Taliban. Historical conservatism as a continuous mass culture over one millennium takes over contemporary efforts of modernization since one or two centuries. Islamic rule means only the application of Islamic law, not democracy ***Shura*** or social justice or the satisfaction of the basic needs but the penal code as if Islam came to punish not to defend human and people's rights. Islam became equal to authoritarianism, seclusion, literalism, violence, cruelty ...etc. Sudan prefers to scarify the unity and the integrity of the nation for the sake of the application of Islamic penal code. The price is a civil war between the north and the south and the risk of a session. Taliban mutilates the members of the poor Afghans while the warlords trafficking in arms and drugs sales are free. Saudi Arabia is not that far from the same model, legitimizing corruption and dependency in the name of traditional Islam, in spite of the partial split of the royal family and the religious establishment. Juhaiman al-'Utaibi uprising in 1979 was a violent Islamic revolt in the name of traditional Islam independent ***vis à vis*** foreign domination and internal corruption, new-Wahhabism versus old-Wahhabism.

In Syria, Libya, Oman and the Emirates the situation is externally calm, internally tense. Officially there is no such monster called Islamic groups, movements or organizations. The political authoritarian regimes in these countries prevent any political participation of a recognized Islamic group. Muslim Brothers in Syria are officially a part of the ruling party, but in fact exists outside Syria in exile. The Islamic opposition in Iraq lives outside, in Iran or in Europe especially England. Libya considers the "Green Book" as the only guidance. There is no room for any other organization. An Islamic military uprising was in Benghazi two years

ago. The worse the political situation becomes, the more likely such Islamic counter groups appear. In Oman, no other political organization is permitted. Every thing is decreed by the Sultan. In United Arab Emirates liberalism has its limitations. Nasserism is permitted and even defended because it does not present any threat any more. It has become obsolete. Ritualistic Islam is harmless. The same situation is in Qatar. While in Bahrain Islam and Nasserism are threats, because of the *Shi'ite* majority, and the misery of the working class. The political regime enflames the situation by suspending the constitution and dissolving the parliament.

In **Morocco,** the political ritualistic and traditional Islam loyal to the kingdom is permitted while a more politicized Islam such as "society of justice and charity" ***Jam'iat al-Da'wa wa al-Ihsan*** is not. The symbol Abd al-Salam Yasin is under surveillance, a certain kind of house arrest just because he touched the issue of poverty and wealth.

In Jordan, Kuwait and Yemen, a better example of liberalism is given by legitimizing Islamic political parties accepting the political democratic game. In Jordan, Muslim brothers are the most visible. They won considerable number of seats, then lost some next elections. Islamic slogans did not solve the major sociopolitical challenges of the country. But Hamas is banned after Wadi 'Araba agreement with Israel. Lately any other Islamic activity is equated to Osama ben Laden.

Kuwait oscillated between the liberal model and the authoritarian one. Even if the liberal succeeds in presenting to the people's assembly a bill for women's rights, Islamic movement such as ***Islah*** organization voted it down. Traditional authoritarianism is much stronger than political authoritarianism.

In Yemen, Muslim Brothers and other Islamic groups are the second largest political group in the country after the ruling party. However, some in the south are using violence sporadically.

Authoritarian tribalism is stronger than traditional Islam or even political charisma.

In Mauritania, a possible coalition between Arab nationalism and Islamic militancy triggered by the recognition of Israel is now being formed. The Belt States around the occupied territories may be superceded by the non-Belt States such as Mauritania, Sudan, Libya, Yemen and Iran. Overbid is a manifestation of authoritarianism in the public sphere.

4. From Authoritarianism to liberalism

Afterwards, Islamic groups split inside prison as well as outside on the utility of violence and killing innocent people. Some members repented with a lot of publicity in the mass-media. Outside prison, a new generation of Muslim brothers accepted the parliamentary system and presented a demand for a formation of a new party in Egypt called ***al-Wasat*** which means the intermediary. Not only the demand of the founding members was rejected but they were arrested and jailed for several years. Another demand is still pending for the formation of a new party, justice party accepting the parliamentary system and political pluralism and rejecting the practice of violence. It is not even called "Islamic" since the constitution prohibits the formation of religious parties. In both cases, the political regime will be the loser. In case of legitimizing an Islamic movement the ruling party will be the loser on the short run in a free election. In case of rejection, the political regime will be also the loser on the long run by violent opposition.

The same shift occurred in Tunisia. ***Nahda*** party was rejected once demanded by Islamic movement of Rashed al-Ghannoushi. It is in the interest of the ruling party to push Islamic movements to the extreme, to be cornered between violence and non-violence, between authoritarianism and liberalism. Violence gives the state the pretext to exclude Islamic groups from the political scene as a violent bloody and criminal group. Non-violence is also not accepted by the state

since in a free competitive election the ruling party will be the loser. Union elections are relevant indicators as well.

Iran, since the revolution in 1979, became a model of Islamic militancy leaning more towards authoritarianism of the Mullas. After one decade from Khomeini to Rafsangani, a shift occurred from authoritarianism to liberalism. In the following decade from Rafsangani to Khatemi another shift occurred from economic liberalism to cultural liberalism: freedom of thought and expression, dialogue of cultures, peaceful resolution of political tensions, accepting political differences, good neighborhood ...etc. The sweeping victory of reformism is a good sign.

The most spectacular political pluralism is the Islamic movements in Lebanon. All trends, all schools of thought, all political variations are accepted as legal institutions of civil society. In Lebanon, civil society has priority on the state. The resistance in the south is a civil society movement and a state policy. Political and sectarian pluralism went too far to the point of civil war for fifteen years. Inherent authoritarianism was stronger than external political pluralism.

Islamic enlightenment is represented by some individual thinkers between the right, the center and the left [1]. They do not form one trend. However, they share the same struggle against conservation and violent groups and call for more ***Ijtihad*** in order to cope with modernity. They kept some of their old affiliations: Marxism, Arab Nationalism or Socialism. It goes from the enlightened Islam to the Islamic Left.

The trend is growing by its own dynamics, needed by the people, undesired by governments and disliked by both fundamentalism and

(1) On the right: Mohammad Emara. In the center Fahmy Huweidy, Gamal al-Banna, Kamal Abu al-Majd. On the left Hassan Hanafi and Tunisian progressist Muslims, the group of 15-21 such as Slab al- Ghorshi. Hassan Hanafi: Islamic Left review; *Al-Yasar al-Islami*, Cairo, 1980.

secularism. People see in it a change through continuity, the simultaneous preservation of identity and modernity. It can help in initiating a process of national reconciliation especially in Algeria. Islam is a vehicle of political protest and social grievances.

Governments see it as a part of radical opposition and a stronger one because it carries on the responsibility of Islam and national opposition alike. It is difficult for governments to discredit it, being anti Islam as Sadat did against Nasserism accused of being atheist Marxism, or anti-modernism as Sadat also did, criticizing Islamic veil *Niqab* of being a tent, which triggered his assassination.

The trend is cornered by the two brother's enemies: fundamentalism and secularism. It is considered as disguised secularism by fundamentalism and as disguised fundamentalism by secularism. It is not a compromise between both antagonist trends but genuine creativity coming out of the depth of the tradition using ***al-Ijtihad***.

The challenge is how can such an intellectual trend become a political movement capable of unifying national and progressive forces to implement a common national project, accepting theoretical diversity and working as a united front? How it can find its way between oppressive regimes and absolute fundamentalist and secularist discourse?

5. From structural authoritarianism to cultural liberalism

The dialectics of authoritarianism and liberalism in contemporary Islamic movements was the subject of oscillation according to its political status between illegitimation and legitimation. Once the Islamic movement is illegitimate: Algeria, Egypt Tunis ...etc, authoritarianism appears as its structure. If it is legitimate, liberalism appears as its behavior. The liberal Islamic discourse became volatile out-built, not a strong in-built. Is it possible to uproot authoritarianism for its cultural structure in the mass-culture and to hope for a permanent

shift from authoritarianism to liberalism? [1]

Authoritarianism is an ontological structure inherited from the fossilized tradition over one millennium. The world is conceived as a pyramid or a triangle, the summit on the top and the base at the bottom. In between there are degrees of the absolute perfection on the top and the absolute imperfection at the bottom. This hierarchical worldview is at the very basis of authoritarianism on all levels, cosmological, social, ethical and epistemological. The relation between two things is necessarily a vertical one, between the top and the bottom, not a horizontal one, between the front and the back.

Al-Farabi built his "virtuous city" on the theory of emanation on the ontological level in Cosmos, on the societal level in the class society, on the ethical level in human behavior and on epistemological level in the theory of communication between the human passive intellect and the divine active intellect. It is the same structure on different levels supported by the dualism between Heavens and Earth.

A cultural reconstruction is needed to change this authoritarian ontological worldview to a liberal structure, from the vertical dimension to the horizontal one, form the relation between the top and the bottom to the relation between forwards and backwards. All human beings will be conceived alike, equal in rights and duties. Pluralism would take over unilateralism. Diversity would be at the very heart of unity. The right to differ would be equal to the right to exist, a new meaning of "our creative diversity".

This ontological hierarchical worldview is at the very origin of the patriarchal society. On the top, the ruler, the king the chief, the prophet, the ***Imam***, the philosopher synonymous to God in his relation to the world. At the bottom the ruled, the subjects, the servants, the

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Historical roots of the crisis of freedom and democracy in our contemporary consciousness, Religion and Revolution in Egypt 1952-81, Vol. 11 Religion and cultural liberation, pp. 99-118 (Arabic); also: Origin of modern conservation and Islamic fundamentalism, Islam in the modern world, Vol. 11, Religion, Revolution and Culture, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1995, pp. 9-21.

adepts, the believers or the ignorants. In between there are social classes from the top, ministers, administrators, generals, directors, technocrats, the white collars downwards to the workers, peasants, fishers, artisans, laborers, namely blue collars. If a part of the lower class protests, opposes or revolts, it is better to get rid of it by chopping it as a sick member from the social body. Eternity does not shake by time.

It is possible to reconstruct this inherited social structure by alternative traditions coming from within not from without. This alternative tradition conceives all human beings on the same level ***De Jure***, by the fact of creation and the equality between rights and duties. Duty is the only social class in which every body lives. The only difference between men and women is the implementation of such duty called piety.

Political authority in this alternative tradition is the outcome of free election, free choice and of a social contract between the ruler and the ruled. Any one can be elected providing that he commits himself to the implementation of the law.

A rigorous system of check and balance called ***Hisba*** can control and supervise through advise, ***Nasiha,*** ordering the good and preventing the evil, ***al-Amr bi al-Ma'ruf wa al Nahy 'an al-Munkar***, going to court to sue the ruler and a revolt against him, ***Khurug***, if the ruler does not abide by the verdict of the high judge.

On the ethical level a double ethical code is maintained, values of the master such as: thought, knowledge, meditation, inspiration, and values of the slaves: action, labor, practice, obedience ...etc. Till now universities are much higher in values than technological schools. The white collars have a higher social rank than the blue collars. In spite of necessities of life, the high rate of unemployment between university graduates more than between technical and professional schools, the inherited value-system in the popular culture did not change.

Since work is a value and the source of values of things, work ethics would challenge this double ethical code. A reconstruction of

the traditional value system is needed to minimize this hierarchy in work ethics.

On the epistemological level, knowledge comes from a previous source, The Divine knowledge, the preserved Tablet ***al-Lawh al-Mahfuz***, revelation, Inspiration, Holy scriptures, the sayings of the fathers or the tradition of the saved sect. Knowledge is pre-given in its totality, not acquired by human means of knowledge, senses or reason. The function of reason is to understand, to rationalize or even to justify, not to criticize, to oppose or even to contradict. The scripture is the foundation of reason. God said, the prophet said, the king said, the president said, the master said, the big brother said, is an argument of authority, not an argument of reason. The whole educational system is based on this transfer of knowledge through memorization. Reciting the Qur'an by heart even without understanding it is one of the highest virtues.

There is an alternative tradition, the ***Mu'tazilite*** one which makes reason the basis of the scripture. The function of reason is to reach, on its own, through evidence and inference, the truth. There is an a priori assumption as well as a posteriors constatatinon concerning the identity of three orders: the order of revelation, the order of reason and the order reality [(1)]. This identical order was behind the birth and the florishment of mathematical and physical sciences.

It is not enough to hail Western rationalism: Descartes, Kant and Hegel or to propagate Western enlightenment, Voltair, Montesquieu, Ronsseau, D'Alembert, Diderot and the Encyclpedists. This was the model of the XIXth century renaissance, an external, easy, transferable, elitist model, not an internal, difficult, creative, popular model.

The shift from authoritarianism to liberalism is not only a socio- political shift but it is a cultural worldview which needs to be

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Les méthodes d'Exégèse, essai sur les fondements de la Compréhension, *'Ilm Usul al- Fiqh*, Imprémerie Nationale, Le Caire, 1965 pp. 309-321. Also: Revelation, Reason and Nature, a reading in al-Qanun fi al Tibb of Ibn Sina, Philosophy and Epoch Review, Cairo, 1999 No 1 pp. 107- 130.

reconstructed from a historical phase to another. It is the work of several generations to switch from medievalism to modernism, to try again a second Arab renaissance, from free officers to free thinkers.



Islam as a political Identity

Some Reflections

I- Object and Method

"Islam as political identity", a title contains four words or precisely, three nouns and one conjunction, which need some clarifications. Islam is not meant here religion, creed, rituals or institutions but as a living experience throughout history in popular consciousness as a popular culture. Islam is understood as a mass-culture serving as the major component of the political culture, since mass-culture in traditional societies plays the role of political ideologies in developed societies.

Identity means the deepest self, coming onto the surface, the unity between the inside and the outside, the past and the present, the old and the new, the sacred and the profane, the religious and the secular, the Divine and the human, kingdom of heaven and kingdom of earth, utopia and real space, the ideal and the real, wishful thought and realized actions.

Political does not mean only direct political action through political parties or institutions, but it has a larger sense including the whole science of action, individual or collective action, of the masses or of the elite, of the people or of the ruling class. Political in this large sense is more congruent with the etymological meaning of the Greek word ***Poleteia***, all what is related to ***Polis***.

(*) Beirut, AUB, January 2000.

The conjunction "as" may propose already the answer more than asking the question. Islam is already considered as a political identity, while the conjunction "and" may be better, asking the question without offering a prior answer. The problem with "and" is the external juxtaposition between Islam and political identity, an a priori differentiation which is also an answer to the question.

The method applied is the phenomenological method based on the analysis of Islam as a political identity, as an experience lived by the individual as well as collective consciousness. Since the scholar is in the heart of the drama, and since Egypt can be taken as a case study, most of the description will be for the Egyptian case with a few comparisons with the rest of the Arab world, especially Algeria.

The phenomenological method is a reflective one based on the analysis of internationality, the tension between the subject and the object. The external world, the Arab world, is put between brackets. The internal world is described as an essence through a direct inward perception after the conversion of the look from the outside to the inside, from space to time, through introspection.

That is why references, documentations, previous studies, statistics, dates, reviewing literature, debating conflicting theories are reduced to the minimum. A direct perception of reality as a living experience is the source of all posterior documentation. Phenomenology returns back to the original experience, even to the pre-predicative one, prior to judgments, propositions and discourse.

II- Islam as a cultural component

Islam is not simply a religion in the technical meaning as explained in Dictionaries and Encyclopedias of religions, equated to divinity, super-power, the unseen, dogma, rituals, magic, belief, prophecy, eschatology, destiny, institutions, clergy, law, punishment, symbols, allegories, myths, mystical experiences, ...etc. Islam is much less than all these categories circulating in history of religions.

Islam is the most secularized, rationalized and naturalized religion, from religion to metaphysics to science, the last formulation of Abrahamic religions, since Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus till Mohammed. It is a progress in human consciousness from the maximum to the minimum, from God to man, from the unseen to the seen, from the invisible to the visible, from faith to reason, from the sacred to the profane, from the eternal to the temporal, from destiny and fate to the freedom of the will, from rituals to the good deed, from kingdom of heavens to kingdom of earth. In Islam, Revelation, Reason and Nature are from the same order. Man (autonomy), society (social justice) and history (progress) are the ***substratum***.

The belief system in Islam is only a worldview based on unity, unity of origin (creation), unity of destination (Immortality) and unity of mankind (Transcendence). All religions, all rational human beings would condone such a minimal against reification, personification, dogmatization, reutilization and institutionalization of religion. Unity is manifested in the self (unity of human character), in society (unity of social classes), and in mankind (unity of all peoples).

In this sense, Islam is the natural outcome of Judaism and Christianity, a genuine identity between law and love, between law of the talion and forgiveness, between kingdom of earth and kingdom of heavens. It is re-affirming the religion of Abrahim, the ***Ur-religion***, religion of reason and religion of nature, the ***Hanifism***, rehabilitating the ***Hanipai,*** those who separated themselves from the ethnocentric Judaism as a main stream.

Islam would include also non-Abrahamic religions, not necessarily non-revealed since there is no people, which did not receive revelation. The Sabeans who know the realm of virtue are considered as part of Islam with the people of the book.

Since Islam is the religion of Nature, many aspects of natural religions, in the Arabian Peninsula have been re-integrated in it such as the alliance of non-aggression between tribes ***(Hilf al-Fudul).***

Islam included parts of the value-system of the ***Jahiliva*** congruent to Islam such as generosity in welcoming the guests, defense of the defenseless, courage and bravery. Islam in this sense is a continuation of the Arab culture existing before Islam, the vehicle of religious and ethical systems in Arabia, a position usually held by Arab Nationalist ideology (Michel Aflaq).

Since Islam originated in the ancient middle east, it crystallized all its cultures including ancient Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt and Canaan. The unity of Goal, the creation of the world and the immorality of the soul are common heritage in all ancient cultures irrespective of different forms of expressions. Islam may carry also some elements of Asian cultures, Hinduism, Buddhism and even Confucianism which explain the speed of expansion of Islam in Asia, such as: The glory of nature, self-perfection, the ethical, social and political foundation of religion. Islam from the early beginning was the continuation of the national cultures in the area, neither uprooting them nor deviating from them.

III- Islam as political mass-culture

Throughout history Islam continued to be intertwined with peoples national cultures and becoming their major component, side by side with popular cultures such as: proverbs, narratives about popular heroes and even social customs. In Islamic festivities, the prophet's birthday, the beginning of the ***Hijra*** year, the nights of ***Ramadan***, the ceremonies of ***Hajj***, morning customs, exchanging the ***Qur'an*** as gift, well decorated, red cover in an arabesque wooden box became parts of daily behavior of leaders is national days and in peoples ceremonies. In all these components the sacred and the profane intertwine. They play the same role as an argument of authority to understand and even to justify events happening which the argument of reason is incapable to comprehend.

Islamic tradition became a living and a continuous historical experience determining peoples worldview and providing them with

their norms of behavior. In times of victory Islam is the rescue. In times of defeat Islam is the refuge. The cry *Allah Allah* is uttered to express joy and sorrow. Islam is anchored in the depth of human consciousness and coming out of it.

Popular Islam even took over scriptural Islam. The first is living Islam, practiced in daily life, the second is literal Islam which exists only in the minds of some *Hanbalite Ulemas* and later on called *Wahhabi* or *Salafi* Islam. Reality is much stronger than scriptures. Popular Islam is a mass-culture while scriptural Islam is the work of the elite.

Popular Islam became identical to peoples religion *Volksreligion* in which Islam, Christianity and Judaism are unified: pre-destination, eschatology, visiting holy shrines, Tombs of the saints, *Sayyedna al-Husein* or *Saint Theresa* alike, clericalism, ritualism ...etc.

Islam now is the historical vehicle of several cultural circles, of different religious layers. Pure Islam is a hypothesis, a desire or a wishful thought expressed by the *Salafi* movement. Islam is a point of no return. The call for a return to primitive Islam was only a social and political device, a power to reject the *Status quo* as impure. The call for purity and *rétour aux sources* is a constant slogan in all reformist movements. The target is not to bring the present to the past but to reject the present in the name of the past, to deblock the crisis of the present in an untopian future.

During the decolonization experience, Islam was the major component of most liberation movements in Morocco (Mohammed V), Algeria (*Ulemas* front), Yemen (the *Zeidi Ulemas*), in Libya (*Senousiya*), in Sudan (*Mahdiya*), in Egypt (Al-Afghani, Abduh), in Lebanon (*Hizb Allah*), in Palestine (*Hamas*) ...etc. Islam was equated to national independence, and sovereignty, to national struggle against colonialism. Islam appeared as a mobilizing force for the masses. During the sixties, the Algerian had in his pocket, the *Qur'an* and the picture of Nasser. The heroes of national

struggle were ***Ulemas*** or their disciples such as: al-Afghani who initiated Orabi revolution. Saad Zaghloul the hero of the 1919 revolution was a disciple of Abduh. The Muslim Brothers were half of the revolutionary council members in 1952; in Morocco, Allal al-Fasi; in Algeria, Abd al-Hamid ben Badis, Sheik al-Bashir al-Ibrahimi, Malek ben Nabi; in Lebanon, Imam Musa al-Sadr; in Palestine, Ezz al-Din al-Qassam and Ahmed Yassin; in Yemen, Zeid al-Mushki and Zubeiri. Islam was identical to nationalism and political struggle. Al-Afghani himself uttered the slogan "Egypt for the Egyptians". Mohammed Abduh himself wrote the blueprint of the Egyptian National party.

IV- Competing identities, secularism and fundamentalism

Since last century, another culture carried by the elite and coming from the West began to compete with Islam as popular culture, which created a new phenomena in modem Arab thought, the double-source in knowledge and allegiance. That the elite identifying itself with the secular West while the masses identifying themselves with the popular Islam generated a dissent between the culture of the elite and the culture of the masses. The elite found reason, science, human rights, social justice, and progress in the West, thus uprooting itself from popular Islam seen as irrational, anti-scientific, theocentric, hierarchic and regressive.

Part of the elite as well as part of the masses wanted to bridge the two cultures to create a modern Islam, Islam based at the same time on the ideals of Western enlightenment and on some liberal versions of classical Islam found in ***Mu'tazilism*** in theology ***Malikism***, in jurisprudence, in ***Averrorism*** in philosophy and in militant Islam in mysticism the ***Mahdiyya*** and the ***Senousiya*** in mysticism. That was the task of the religious reformers such as al-Afghani and Abduh, the liberal thinkers such as al-Tahtawi and Kheir al-Din al-Tunsi, and the secular scientists such as Shebly Shmayyel, Farah Antoun, Yakub Sarrouf and Salama Moussa.

Taking the case of Egypt as an example, as far as the experience of modernization was successful, the discrepancy between the culture of the secular elite and the traditional culture of the masses was not active. The argument of the public interest and the common welfare was visible. The liberal state before the modem Arab revolutions was the embodiment of the independent state, the heir of the revolution of 1919. The multi-party system, the freedom of the press, the parliament, the constitution were able to defend the civil liberties and the rights of the citizens.

As far as Arab revolutions were successful in realizing the national goals: Complete independence, social justice, economic development, food subsidies, free education, workers rights, neither the elite, secular or religious nor the masses questioned their identities. Success absorbed the dual identity of the secular elite and the religions masses. Nasser unified their double-identity. The revolution became visible on the ground in daily life since the dethroning of the king, the institution of the republic, the agrarian reform, the evacuation of British troops, the nationalization of Suez Canal, the Egyptianization of foreign companies, the unity with Syria, the socialist laws, the opposition to foreign pacts even if it is covered by Islam, such as the Islamic pact.

After the defeat of 1967, the whole socialist experience collapsed. The people looked inside not outside. They rediscovered Islam as a political identity after the failure of the two previous experiences, liberal before 1952 and socialist hereafter. Religious conservatism coming out the threshold of history and after being marginalized by the core of political life interpreted the military defeat as an abandon of faith. Socialism was labeled as communism, atheism and class struggle was based on violence.

When Nasser disappeared from the scene in 1970 and a decision was made by the following ruling elite to switch from socialism to open door policy, from public to private sector, from pan-Arabism to regionalism, from the struggle against imperialism

and Zionism to the alliance with USA and the recognition of Israel, Muslim brothers were freed from prisons to be used as tools to liquidate universities, unions and the ruling party from the Nasserists, the common foes. Fundamentalism was the outcome of the natural course of modern Arab history and the result of the support and the pre-meditaled actions of the state. In both cases, it is an artificial phenomena, a para-phenomena. The same situation happened in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Yemen and Kuwait, as a reaction to the failure of secular ideologies of modernization.

V- Islam as a legitimizing device

Since the failure of secular ideologies of modernization, liberal Arab nationalism, socialism, western Marxism, people returned to Islam. They escaped to Islam as a rescue boat. They fled to Islam more than choosing it. Islam became their identity by negation of all other identities coming out of previous secular ideologies of modernization, experimented in their recent history. Slogans were uttered such as: **Islam is the solution, Islam is the alternative, the sovereignty to God, the application of Islamic Law.** Each slogan expressed a psychological state; **Islam is the alternative** against the failure of secular ideologies of modernization; **Islam is the solution** since the major sociopolitical problems were not solved and even aggravated such as: occupation, housing, unemployment, poverty, education, ...etc; **the sovereignty to God** since the two regimes ruling the Arab world, kingdoms and militarism are illegitimate political regimes since kings and officers are not freely elected by the masses. **The application of Islamic law** is a forward escape by the people suffering from the practiced laws expressing the will of the ruling class and inducing to corruption.

Islam is used as a legitimizing device by both the ruling elite and the mass-opposition. Kings and officers alike used Islamic symbols to indulge mass-obedience. Kings give themselves titles such as the **prince of the believers (*Amir al-Mu'minin*)**, the servant

of the two mosques (***Khadim-al Haramyn***), the ***Hachemite***. The emirs are calling themselves ***Sheikh***, a title of respect combining old age and religious leadership related to the beard and the Arab dress, stemming out of the prophetic tradition. Even officers used religious symbol to overbid the Islamic opposition. The president is stressing ***Mohammed*** as his first name. Another puts on his flag **God is great** ***"Allah Akbar"*** to overcome the flag of his brother-enemy, the two swords and **There is no God except Allah and Mohammed is his messenger**, ***"La Illaha Illa Allah Mohammed rasul Allah"***. All of them, kings and officers, participate in religious festivities, they are seen praying in the mass-media, reconstructing even the tombs of the saints destroyed by religious literalism. The destruction of Mosques where Islamic opposition is hidden is corrected by the construction of new governmental Mosques. All the religious programs in the mass-media are expressing religious conservatism calling for passive religious values: reliance, acceptance, patience, resignation, obedience to the ruling elite, component of a depolarized Islam and as a means of social control.

On the other side, Islamic opposition is using Islam as a vehicle of protest, an easy way to recruit the masses, to mobilize political dissent. The young citizen, uneducated, unemployed and marginalized is promised to be the prince of the two worlds, a leader in this world or a martyr in the other world, gaining a double immortality. He is given a job, a house, and a wife to uproot him from his own social milieu, the society of the unbelievers, and plant him in the society of the believers. The destruction of the evil is a prerequisite for the construction of the good.

The masses are caught between these two religious opportunism, the hypocicy of the ruling elite, and the violence of the Islamic opposition groups. They reject the utilitarian and egoistic use of Islam. They are looking for a more social Islam expressing the two needs: self-identity and defense of their public welfare, a populist Islam, coming out of their mass-culture and the carrier of their basic

needs. But neither the ruling elite is interested in such popular Islam because of its opposition, nor the Islamic groups are interested in such Islam since it rejects violence and the hypocrisy of the corrupted kings.

This is the dead lock in which the Arab World is blocked in, waiting for the unpredictable in history.



Political Islam between Thought and Practice

I- The Old Roots of Political Islam

Religion is not only a theoretical change in worldview, from one that maintains that this world was created out of nothing and ends in the same way, to one that perceives man as a passer-by who works and is finally judged by his works; one which maintains that beyond this visible world there is another that is invisible but manifests itself in the visible one and rules over it. Religion is not only a set of practices - relating to individual and social rituals and rites of symbolic significance - which protect man from the dangers of the environment, the power of nature and ferocious animals, so that man can have tranquility in his life and live in peace and security.

Furthermore, religion is not a set of authoritarian institutions of the clergy who rule over it and decide its laws and rituals, and who work as intermediaries between the world of humans and the world of the gods, having both human and divine abilities at the same time. They are closer to the sacred rather than the worldly and some of them have even used the titles of sons, spirits and words of God.

(*) Originally published in Arabic and translated by Dr. Ahmad Moussalli, "Political Islam between Thought and Practice" in Islamic Movements, Impact on political Stability in the Arab World, the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, first published in 2003, pp. 53-91.

Religion is not isolation in caves, sitting before the fire, the smoke of scents and the fragrance of perfumes, the singing of hymns, invoking good spirits and exorcising bad spirits, treating the sick and converting the spiritual word into the material one.

Religion has always been a tool of cultural, political and social change, and a social movement that represents marginal or persecuted elements of society against authoritarian and tyrannical forces, such as Namrud, Haman, Abi Jahl, Abi Lahab and the elders of Mecca, who accused the prophet of turning slaves against them.

Religion was the tool of liberation of entire peoples, like the liberation of the Jews from the grip of the Pharaoh under the leadership of Moses and the migration of the Prophet Abraham and his people from the North of Iraq to Hijaz to avoid the worship of idols and to build the foundation of a new house for God, where God is worshipped and not idols. It was also the instrument to unite fragmented and conflicting tribes, like the Arab tribes, and to bring people together, like the brotherhood between the ***al-'Aws*** and ***al-Khazraj*** and between ***al-Ansar*** and ***al-Muhajirin***. "If thou hadst spent all that is in the earth thou couldst not have attuned their hearts, but Allah hath attuned" (1). It also brought the tribes together to carry the Black Stone that the Prophet put on his gown, where one individual from each tribe held to the edge of the gown, an action which later came to represent a togetherness, through "a firm handhold which will never break" (2).

Religion was the instrument to unite homelands and unify cultures. This was the case in the Arabian Peninsula, by uniting the theists - Judaism, Christianity - and enhancing the culture of poetry, especially the verses of priests, the poetry of the Christians and ***al-Sa'aliq***. The culture of poetry was also the culture of Arab popular proverbs that carried Arab values, which in turn were connected to the values of Islam, such as generosity to the guest, helping the

(1) Surat Al-Anfal, verse 63, Qur'an.
(2) Surat Al-Baqarah, verse 253, Qur'an.

oppressed, protecting the stranger and fulfilling promises. The same applies to the political culture represented by the alliance of ***Fudul*** and the peace treaty of ***Hudaybiyya*** that recognized all people, "And have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another" (1). "For each We have appointed a divine law and a traced-out way" (2).

Religion is also the instrument of cultural liberation, the liberation of Adam from temptation, and the liberation of the son of Noah from judging natural phenomena according only to natural law, such as the mountain that was not covered by water during the flood, and the liberation of the Prophet Jesus of the Israelites from the tyranny of the clergy, who blindly adhered to the law, as well as the liberation of the temple from being used as a market place. It is also the instrument for the foundation of a new contract based on love and obedience instead of the Old Testament that depended on choice and selection, and the liberation of the Roman from relying on physical strength in order to uphold the intellect, and from attention of the body to care of the soul.

Every claim that there is no religion in politics and no politics in religion is meant to isolate religion from politics so that the authoritarian can secure himself against any opposition in the name of religion that may destroy him. Furthermore, isolating politics from religion means that the political regimes do what they want, according to the interests of the political elites and with no regard to any law or rule. It is also a negative political message expressed against the natural relationship between religion and politics, since religion is an instrument of liberation for humankind and politics is an instrument of executing its laws. The separation of religion from politics and politics from religion, as modern secularism demands, is thus both a negative political and a negative religious act, the political entity wants to rule alone without competing with religious, as is the case in contemporary Arab regimes. Conversely, the religious entity that wants to exclude the political wants to claim

(1) Surat Al-Hujurat, verse 13, Qur'an.
(2) Surat Al-Ma'idah, verse 48, Qur'an.

ownership of religion, and wants to create a closed world or kingdom without competition from politicians.

The Islamic sciences have all been founded along political and social lines, in a political environment where the tribe is transformed into a state, the prophet hood into a caliphate, and the caliphate into a kingdom. The Prophetic Tradition says that the Caliphate was to last for thirty years after the Prophet was gone and then it was to become a strict kingship. The Islamic sciences accompanied this political and social transformation and expressed it.

Theology was founded on a political basis and was related to the Caliphate after the death of the Prophet, whether it was based on a text and an oath of allegiance, on an appointment or a choice, on a pact or a contract.

Political difference and theorizing about it started between the different opposition forces, like the Shi'ites, and those who were in power like the Umayyads, who brought their political theorization from the ***Ash'arites***. In addition, the secret political opposition brought forward its belief in the Imamate. The ***Mu'tazilites***, with their public intellectual political opposition, theorized on the five fundamentals-***tawhid***, justice, promise and threat, the status between belief and disbelief, and enjoining the good and forbidding evil. The Kharijites upheld armed opposition on the fringes of the cities, which followed the theorization of the Mu'tazilites about ***tawhid*** and justice and that the Imamate was not necessarily for the tribe of Quraysh. The Kharijites also rejected the notion of the status between belief and disbelief and claimed that people were either believers or unbelievers, that belief could not be viewed in isolation from work and that there was no middle ground for hypocrisy or heresy. They also turned enjoining the good and forbidding evil from advice into opposition by force against the unjust ruler [(1)].

(1) Muhammad Abdu, ***Risalat al-Tawhid*** (Cairo: Dar al-Manar, 1373 AH), 3-23. Also, Hassan Hanafi, ***Min al- 'Aqida ila al-Thawra: Muqaddimat Nazariyya*** vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat Madbuli, 1988), Chapter II, pp. 100-102.

Sufism started as a counter-political approach and as a reaction to the excessive competition over the world, the life of luxury and extravagance, and the difficulty of actually resisting this worldly trend after the martyrdom of the Imams of the Prophet's family-resistance became difficult and the scholars were caught in the power and enticement of Mu'awiyya. A group decided to save their souls if they were unable to rectify the wrongs of the world, and to ensure that their conscience was clear and their heart pure even if the body had to yield to the needs of worldly life and the essentials of survival. After the Great Turmoil (***Fitna Al Kubra***) [1], there was the birth of a generation of monks and mystics who yearned for earlier days and especially the days of the Prophet and the Caliphs. The Ahl al-Saffah lived their life in pity for others. From this environment, the first Sufi movement emerged without any foreign influence and by a purely internal momentum.

The foundation of the science of the fundamentals of jurisprudence is also purely social, for every new fact needed a judgment. It was natural that analogical deduction was invented, as was expressed by 'Umar Bin AL-Khattab, "Deduce things from similarities and different things from differences", and the Prophet's saying to Mu'adh Bin Jabal who said that he would rule by the Qur'an, then the Prophetic Tradition, and then by analogical deduction without fear or awe. In the Qur'an there is mention of deduction and reasoning, "he would have taught him that thing that they deduce from" [2].

The sciences of wisdom were established by the state. Al-Ma'mun dreamed of Aristotle and dialogued with him over the issue of the rational and religious good and evil. He also worked for the establishment of the House of Wisdom (***Bait Al Hikma***) and appointed its translators, headed by Hunayn Bin Ishaq who bought

(1) Refers to the state of factionalism and divisiveness that plagued the Muslim world after the four Caliphs.
(2) Surat Al-Nisa', verse 83, Qur'an.

manuscripts from the country of the Romans with gold. The goal was to know the cultures of the conquered peoples, the West and the Romans, not to destroy and terminate them as modern colonialism has done. Greek political thought, especially Plato's Republic and Persian Political thought, especially Jawida Dakhard, stood side by side with Islamic political thought as inherited in ***Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya***.

In addition to the four traditional rational sciences - theology, philosophy, Sufism and the fundamentals of jurisprudence - the other traditional sciences, that is the Qur'an, ***Hadith***, Exegesis, the Prophet's biography and jurisprudence, all emerged out of social and political motivations. The Qur'an was collected and checked over during the reign of 'Uthman out of fear and for the purpose of fixing the text, an act which was equal to fixing political authority. The collection of ***Hadith***, two centuries later, was motivated by the same cause, that is, to fix the Prophetic sayings after opposition groups invented unauthentic Prophetic sayings in order to support their views. The sciences of exegesis were subject to same concern, especially against the exoteric and rational interpretations of the opposition. The theological school was also propped up in order to argue that the creed of political power is included within the sciences of exegesis over destiny, predestination and the Imamate.

The sciences of the Prophetic biography were founded as the People of the Book formed their biographies of their prophets, which was done in order to show their miracles. The sciences of the Prophet's biography represented a movement away from the real and implicit social and political role of the Prophet, in order to boost the morale of the Muslims, so that they did not feel that they were inferior to the Christians who had written the biography of Christ [1]. The political biography is obvious in the contemporary biographies of the Prophet; the liberal biography in two books by Muhammad Husayn Haykal, ***Hayat Muhammad*** and ***Fi Munzal al-Wahy***, and in

(1) This is the important addition of Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd in the sciences of the Qur'an.

Taha Husayn's book *'Ala Hamish al-Sira*, the socialist biography in 'Abd Al-Rahman Al-Shirqawi's *Muhammad Rasul Allah*, and the political biography in *Fatrat al-Takwin fi Hayat al-Sadiq al-Amin* by Khalil 'Abd al-Karim. Finally, the sciences of jurisprudence were formed according to the priorities of the classical age and its circumstances, that is the priority of the jurisprudence of worship over the jurisprudence of human interactions. The political order monopolized transaction in society, especially those matters pertaining to political organizations and turning against the unjust ruler [(1)].

II- The Modern Roots of Political Islam

Political Islam is both an old and a modern phenomenon. It has existed since Salah Al-Din and has continued up to the emergence of the current Islamic groups. Islamic reform was established out of political motives, emanating from the weakness of the Ottoman Caliphate, the occupation and partition of the nation's lands, the nation's backwardness in terms of modern civilization, repression of the people notwithstanding the creed system (*Millat*) and its characteristic hyper-centrality, the emergence of the ambition of the East and West over the territory of the Sick Man of Europe, and the desire of countries like Egypt in the period of Muhammad 'Ali to inherit the Caliphate after its collapse in 1924.

The greatest representative of political Islam and the pioneer of modern Islamic movements is Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani who developed political Islam, that is, Islam confronting external colonialism and internal repression, and Islam working for the liberation of the Muslim land, for Muslim freedom, for the poor, for identity, progress and mobilization. The 'Urabi revolution rose from those teachings, Ahmad 'Urabi stood in 'Abidin Palace before King

(1) See Hassan Hanafi, *"Turath al-Sulta wa Turath al-Mu'arada"*, *Humum al-Fikr wa al-Watan: Al-Turath wa al-'Asr wa al-Nidal al-Watani*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat Madbuli, 1988), pp. 361-372.

Tawfiq saying, "God has created us free and did not bequeath us any property, by God we will not bequeath things after today." The nation's speakers and scholars, like 'Abd Allah Al-Nadim, continued both openly and secretly to resist and fight the British occupation of Egypt [(1)].

Most of the national movements sprang from religious reform. Al-Afghani introduced the motto, "Egypt is for the Egyptian". Although Muhammad Abdu refused any relation with the 'Urabi revolution, he was the author of the national party program. The Egyptian national movement continued, from Mustapha Kamel to Fathi Ridwan, and from the national party to ***Misr al-Fatat***. It was connected to both the reform movements and political Islam. It was also Al-Afghani who called for the unity of the Nile valley, Egypt and Sudan, as well as for Arab unity starting with Egypt and Syria, the unity of Egypt and the western part of the Arab World and the renaissance of Egypt with the renaissance of the East. Although Muhammad Abdu diluted the revolutionary spirit of Al-Afghani's work, the revolution of 1919 was still influenced by the latter. Sa'd Zaghlul was one of his disciples, as were the second generation of the renaissance pioneers, like Qasim Amin, Mustapha 'Abd al-Raziq and Taha Husayn. The Pact of 1963 recognized them in the chapter on the 'roots of national struggle' [(2)].

In the Arab World, like in Egypt, the national movement was connected to religious reform and sprang from it. In Morocco, 'Allal Al-Fasi founded ***Hizb al-Istiqlal*** and the scholars of the Qarawiyyin with the royal court established the national movement; the royal court represented by Muhammad V, embodied the tie between the homeland and Islam. ***Jihad*** took on the new meaning of independence,

(1) See Hassan Hanafi, "*Al-Din wa al-Thawra al-'Arabiyya*", *Al-Din wa al-Thawra fi Misr* 1952-1981: *Al-Din wa al-Nidal al-Watani* vol. 3 (Cairo: Maktabat Madbuli, 1989), pp. 245-306.

(2) *Al-Mithaq*: *Juzur al-Nidal al-Watani* (Cairo: *al-Hay'a al-'Amma li al Isti'lamat*, 1964).

and the king in Morocco took the title of the "Emir of the Believers" because of his genealogical ties to the Hashimite family, as in the case of Jordan.

In Algeria, the national movement also emerged from the Association of the Scholars of Algeria and developed with its scholars - 'Abd al-Hamid Bin Badis, 'Abd Al-Qadir Al-Mughrabi, 'Abd Al-Karim Al-Khattabi and Malik Bin Nabiy. With the weakening of the national movement after independence and the return of the francophone elite, Islam once again became the vehicle for the anger of the masses and the voice of their social aspirations to eliminate poverty and unemployment. When the social Islamic movement did return, it won the majority in the legislative councils. Its success brought the army up against it and armed conflict erupted, resulting in more than seventy thousand martyrs.

In Tunisia too, the national movement crystallized around the scholars of al-Zaytuna, such as Al-Tahir and Al-Fadil Bin 'Ashur. People were resisting the French occupation as part of Islamic *jihad,* irrespective of their orientation, whether it relates to trade unions, liberal ideals or spontaneous nationalism. This is clearly evident in the literature on resistance and in popular poems, in the methods of exegesis of al-Zaytuna scholars, in religious speeches, afternoon lessons and popular demonstrations.

In Libya, the al-Sanusiyya movement carried the *jihad* against Italian occupation and continued through 'Umar al-Mukhtar. The resistance was launched from the mosques and religious places and depended on belief in God and the *jihad* against the infidels. Occupation represented unbelief, and resistance was directed against the infidels from Al-Kufrah in the south of the desert. The revolution of 1969 sprang from a nationalist sentiment as a reaction to the defeat in the Six-Day War of 1967. After a quarter century of diluting the revolutionary trend and continuing the same political discourse without visible results in the transformation of the cultural, and socio-political reality, armed Islam once again sprang in the

mountains around Benghazi, as the representative of the movements of social protest and political opposition.

The Arab East did not differ from the Arab West on this issue. In Syria, 'Abd Al-Rahman Al-Kawakibi theorized about Muslim freedom in his book ***Tabai' al-Istibdad wa Masari' al-Isti'bad***, and in another one of his books, ***Um al-Qura***, he analyzed the phenomenon of indifference or apathy in the nation, which he said led to its submission and occupation. He constructed nationalism on the basis of Islam and applied the culture of freedom in the West to the reality and conditions of the Muslims.

In Lebanon, the resistance movement in the south emerged from the Shi'ites and their parties and organizations, and succeeded in liberating the south of Lebanon. It became a model that was followed in Palestine, Kashmir and all occupied territories. Both the Shi'ites and the Sunnis contributed to the resistance movements and theorized about the modern Islamic revolution, especially in the writings of Muhammad Mahdi Shams Al-Din and Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, perhaps transcending the ideology of Islamic revolution in Iran and "the rule of the jurist."

In Yemen, the free imams led the struggle against the rule of the tyrant imams and became martyrs, like Ziad Al-Mushki, for the freedom of the homeland. The Brothers participated in many revolutions against the imams until the success of the Free Officers, when 'Abd Allah Al-Sallal and his group finally succeeded in bringing the rule of darkness to an end. Yemeni poets and literary figures expressed the conditions of repression and the call for independence, and worked with the nationalists in Egypt to make the revolution successful. When unity was achieved, the Islamic movement participated in national life, although relationships with the political regimes went through ups and downs, as was the case of the societies that moved from authoritarianism to freedom.

In the Sudan, the al-Mahdiyya movement led the struggle against British occupation under the leadership of Muhammad

Ahmad Al-Mahdi, using all of the traditional weapons against the modern British army, with Lord Jordan being killed by one of the fighters of al-Mahdiyya. In the modern history of Sudan, al-Mahdiyya became synonymous with fighting for the cause of God, and Sufism was transformed into a revolution, notwithstanding the spread of al-Wahhabiyya and the dropping of the duty of ***jihad*** by the Republican Brothers.

In Palestine, the movements of Islamic Hamas and Islamic Jihad led the Islamic resistance in conjunction with other Palestinian resistance movements. In its initial formation, the movement of Fatah consisted of the Muslim Brothers who fought side by side in Palestine with the Arab armies in 1948. The 'Iz al-Din al-Qassam revolution in 1935 was the model for the first Islamic resistance against British occupation. Two uprisings took place, the first in the period of 1987-1993 and the second that started at the end of September 2000 under the slogan of the al-Aqsa Mosque, whose defamation and occupation has inflamed Muslim sentiment from the farthest lands of Asia to West Africa.

Muhammad Abdu had turned against his master Al-Afghani's political revolution and politics of revolt against the rulers, after the failure of the 'Urabi revolution and the British occupation of Egypt. Similarly, Rashid Rida turned against Muhammad Abdu, moving away from reform to Salafiyya after the Kamelist revolution in Turkey in 1923, the abrogation of the Caliphate and the success of the ***Jam'iyyat Turkiyya al-Fatat*** and ***Hizb al-Itihad wa al-Taraqi*** in seizing power. There were three choices: reform, which had led to the occupation of Egypt; secularism that led to the destruction of the Caliphate in Turkey; and Salafiyya with which Rida was left and to which he resorted in his new defense of the Caliphate in his book, ***Al-Khilapha aw al-Imama al-'Uzma***.

He rediscovered Muhammad Bin 'Abd Al-Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabi movement in Najd, who had in turn discovered Ibn Taymiyya, the leader of both old and modern

Salafiyyin. The roots of the latter go back to Ahmad Bin Hanbal, the founder of the first Salafi movement, who established it in reaction to Abu Hanifa and the Mu'atizilites' absolute use of reason. Moreover, this was a reaction to the Malikites' heavy emphasis on the use of the concept of interest, i.e., to the view that what the Muslims found good was divinely good, and that interest was the basis for legislation, as Al- Tufi said in Andalusia. It is better to return to the pure text and to obey divine orders and prohibitions without the interference of human thought through understanding, interpretation, analysis or reasoning. In this, probably, lies the beginning of the spread of Wahhabi Islam and its influence in the rest of the contemporary Islamic movements.

Hassan Al-Banna, the disciple of Rashid Rida, was immersed in the *Salafi* spirit. He wanted to fulfill Al-Afghani's dream of establishing an Islamic revolutionary party capable of carrying the revolutionary Islamic ideology and achieving the Islamic project of liberation. He established the movement of the Muslim Brothers on the banks of the canal in Isma'iliyya in 1928, and in less than a quarter century it became the strongest and most dynamic Islamic movement in Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Jordan. Al-Banna was able to formulate a clear and simple theoretical and practical Islam that had an activist concept of the Brothers as fighters during the day and monks during the night. In the forties, the Brothers joined the fervor of the Egyptian national movement, fought in Palestine in 1948 and opposed the tyrannical feudal system of the British, the Palace and minority parties. They represented, along with the Wafd party and the communists, the main opposition to the existing policies in the 1940s, notwithstanding their own ideological differences.

Hassan Al-Banna was assassinated in February 1949 after giving a lecture to the Association of Muslim Youth. The Palace, the British and some minority parties were behind the assassination. Then a series of reciprocal assassinations took place, resulting in the death of Al-Nuqrashi and Ahmed Maher, which were followed by

the arrest and torture of the members of the Brotherhood. The Palace established the Iron Guards, which included Anwar Al-Sadat in its membership. The communists had their own secret apparatuses and the Brothers also set up their secret apparatus to prepare for essential changes and to overcome the regime by force.

Through the assassination of the martyr Hassan Al-Banna, the Brothers did not only lose the founder of the Brotherhood but also their guide, theoretician and spiritual father. No one, be it lawyers, judges, jurists, preachers, officers, politicians or businessmen could succeed him. His post remained open for two years till one member of the Guidance Bureau suggested the name of Sayyid Qutb. However, other members objected because this new name was associated with the secularists, the communists, the socialists and literary figures, and because Qutb was not one of the founding members, as were 'Umar Al-Tilmisani and others. He also did not have the legal weight of 'Abd Al-Hakim 'Abdin or 'Abd Al-Qadir 'Awda, or the juristic knowledge of Sayyid Sabiq, the oratory skills of Muhammad Al-Ghazali or the political skill of Hassan Al-'Ishmawi. Nonetheless, he was appointed as the general secretary of the Propagation *(Da'wa)* and Thought Section and as a member of the Guidance Bureau.

In fact, Sayyid Qutb was a unique personality in the history of Egypt and the relationship between the Free Officers and the Muslim Brothers. This was obvious in the last phase of his life, which is the political phase, He went through four phases: the first is the literary phase of the 1930s, when he was a romantic poet composing national romantic poetry, such as ***Al-Shati' al-Majhul*** in 1934. Then in the 1940s, he wrote in the literary genre for children, with books such as ***Ashwak, Al-Atyaf al-Araba'a*** and ***Al- Madina Al-Mashura,*** and also autobiographies such as ***Tifl fi al-Qarya,*** much as Tawfiq Al-Hakim had done in ***Yomiyat Na'ib fi al Aryaf***. He was also the author of literary innovations through his literary criticism, starting with ***Muhimmat al-Sha'ir fi al-Hayat,*** which was introduced by Mahdi

'Allam, Dean of Arts at the Alexandria University. In the mid-1940s, he published ***Al-Naqd al-Adabi... Usulih wa Manahijih*** where he used Qur'anic verses as literary examples. He then applied his theory in existential impressionist criticisms, which depended on the music of language, in his book ***Al-Taswir al-Fanni fi al-Qur'an Al-Karim wa Mashahid Yawm al-Qiyama fi al-Qur'an,*** two decades before the book ***Al-Juwaniyya*** by 'Uthman Amin was published.

This happened at a time when Khalaf Allah Muhammad Khalaf Allah wrote his Master's thesis ***"Fan al-Qasas fi al-Qur'an"*** under the supervision of Amin Al-Khawli, which was turned down by the university authorities, who claimed that the thesis rejected the historical events in the stories of the prophets. It was the same charge that had been brought earlier against Taha Husayn in his book, ***Fi al-Shi'r al-Jahili*** and later against Hamid Nasr Abu Zayd in his book, ***Mafhum al-Nas***. Sayyid Qutb was in the camp of the new against the old and with 'Abbas Mahmud Al-'Aqqad against Taha Husayn, and it was he who introduced the trilogy of Najib Mahfouz to the world.

The second phase is the social phase, when Sayyid Qutb discovered the social aspect of Islam after having discovered the literary aspect of the Qur'an. He wrote his book, *Social Justice in Islam,* first in the form of an article, reflecting the spirit of the social conflict in the 1940s. It was then published as a book in 1949. In the book, he linked the Issue of Social justice - a recurrent theme then in cinema, poetry, novels, political thought and parties of the time like the Wafd vanguard - to the concept of ***tawhid. Tawhid*** is composed of three principles: human freedom, human equality and social solidarity. In 1947, he gave historical examples from the sayings of the Prophet's companions and the imams on Islamic socialism. Then Qutb wrote ***Ma'rakat Al-Islam wa al-Ra'simaliyya*** as if it were a communist declaration authenticating Marxism, in which he showed the contradiction between Marxism and Islamic socialism. Later, he wrote the book ***Al-Salam al-'Alami wa Al-Islam,*** where he set the

responsibility for peace on the conscience, that is, man's satisfaction with himself, then his move to peace in the family and harmony among its members, and to peace in society that worked for dissolving the difference between classes. For this reason, the Egyptian revolution appointed him head of the Liberation Rally, which was its first political organization, and as the supervisor of its magazine and publications.

The third phase is the philosophical one, where he delved into the theoretical side of Islam through the foundation of an Islamic ideology in his book ***Khasa'is al-Tasawwur al-Islami wa Muqawwimatih,*** which depended on divine oneness, idealism, equality, balance, mobility and, sentimentality. He was closer to Muhammad Iqbal than to the Muslim Brothers. Since the book was a response to Alexis Carrel's book, *Man the Unknown,* there were comparisons between the self and the other, and Islam and the West. This became more focused after his visit to the United States of America on an educational mission, where he suffered from a cultural shock caused by the contradictions between the two societies. Then, in his ***Al-Mustaqbal li Hadha Al-Din,*** he wrote the future of the self and the end of the other. Finally, he collected a few articles on religion, politics, literature, sociology and history in his ***Dirasat Islamiyya***. It was the last of his theoretical works and contained the highest level of Islamic ideology during the early phase of the Egyptian revolution.

The fourth phase is the political phase. When the revolution of the Free Officers took place in 1952, Qutb had already been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood for two years. Because he was known for his socialist writings, he was asked to give talks on the radio about nationalism, socialism and revolution. When the revolution dissolved the political parties, it exempted the Brotherhood because of its relations to the revolution. Sayyid Qutb wrote the program of the Brothers because the revolution asked the parties to write their political programs.

After the schism between the Free Officers themselves, that is, between Jamal 'Abd Al-Nasir and Muhammad Najib, which became know as the crisis of March 1954, the Muslim Brothers joined Muhammad Najib because he seemed to unite the two halves of the Nile valley, since his father was Egyptian and his mother was Sudanese. When Najib lost, the conflict between the Brothers and the revolution took place and reached its apex in July 1954, when a member of the Muslim Brotherhood fired at 'Abd Al-Nasir at the Manshiyya Square in Alexandria in an attempted assassination. This gave 'Abd Al-Nasir and his comrades the opportunity to dissolve the Brotherhood and to arrest the members of the Guidance Bureau. 'Abd Al-Qadir 'Awda and other members of the organization were executed and Qutb was jailed.

Out of the terrible torture and the darkness of the prison, and because of his intense pain, Sayyid Qutb wrote ***Ma'alimfi Al-Tariq,*** adapting some its chapters from ***Fi Zilal al-Qur'an***. Some of the chapters express the agonies of the innocent who have been jailed. In this book, the contrast between Islam and *jahiliyya,* between belief and unbelief, and between God and tyranny is sharpened. This contrast cannot be reconciled and one party will eliminate the other. Because there is no victory but for God, Islam will overcome *jahiliyya,* God will overcome tyranny, belief will overcome unbelief. This will happen through the rise of a unique Qur'anic generation, the elite of the elites, who will spread justice throughout the world as it is now full of injustice.

When the book was published in the 1960s, no one recognized its importance but 'Abd Al-Nasir read it, after a visit to Moscow where he went to convalesce. His own organizational experience led him to suspect that there must be a secret organization behind the book. He asked his minister of Interior, Shi'rawi Jum'a, to uncover this organization. Qutb was arrested again two years after his release and was accused of conspiring to overthrow the regime. After a mock trial, he was condemned and was sentenced to death in the

summer of 1965, notwithstanding that many Arab and Muslim rulers interceded on his behalf.

The Free Officers revolution was then on the defensive after their promulgation of the socialist law of 1962-1963, enacted in the aftermath of the Egyptian-Syrian separation. The revolution stood side-by-side with the revolution in Yemen, and could not allow any challenge, external or internal. Nonetheless, the defeat of June 1967, two years after the hanging of Sayyid Qutb, was the beginning of the end of the first republic, which finally collapsed after the death of Jamal 'Abd Al-Nasir, in September 1970.

The book, ***Fi Zilal al-Qur'an,*** is considered to be the latest of what has been published in the sciences of exegesis in modern Islamic thought, which followed the exegesis of ***Al-Manar*** by Muhammad Abdu and Muhammad Rashid Rida. In it, the four phases of Sayyid Qutb's life are interwoven: he brings together the literary, social and philosophical interpretations. Contemporary Islamic groups usually read ***Ma'alim fi Al-Tariq*** and forget his books, ***Al-Taswir al-Fani fi al-Qur'an, Al-'Adala al-Ijtima'iyya fi Al-Islam*** and ***Ma'rakat Al-Islam wa al-Ra'simaliyya.*** Thus, Sayyid Qutb - the poet, literary critic, the socialist and the philosopher - has been reduced to a personality who excommunicates society and who is the main source for groups calling for excommunication and migration [(1)]. The challenge still exists today: Who will succeed Sayyid Qutb as an Islamic thinker who wants to unite Muslims, and is a progressive socialist, and who would again unite Islam and revolution?

III- The Contemporary Roots of Political Islam

Within the same period, the Free Officers formed their own secret apparatus in order to seize power and to end the rule of

(1) See Hassan Hanafi, "***Athar al-Imam al-Shahid Sayyid Qutb 'ala al Harakat al-Diniyya al-Mu'asira***", ***Al-Din wa al-Thawra fi Misr: al Harakat al-Islamiyya al-Mu'asira***, vol. 5, pp. 167-300.

corrupt parties, the Palace's misuse of the national government, the interference of the British in political life and the presence of their forces on the bank of the Suez Canal and at the Tal Kabeer. The objectives of the Free Officers' secret organization also included investigating the malfunctioning weapons and the defeat of the Egyptian army in Palestine, and even the killing of Hassan Al-Banna. All of this was included in the first six principles of the revolution: to eliminate colonialism, monarchy, feudalism and capitalism, to constitute a strong army and to establish a sound democratic life.

When the revolution broke out in July 1952, half of the Revolutionary Council was from the Muslim Brothers, including 'Abd Al-Mun'im 'Abd Al-Ra'uf and Rashad Mahana. Officer Abu Al-Makarim 'Abd Al-Hay was the link between the Free Officers within the army and the Muslim Brothers. Jamal 'Abd Al-Nasir and Al-Sadat had relations with Hassan Al-Banna and the Muslim Brothers, and they all had the same objective: to change the political regime in Egypt which was controlled by the British, the Palace and feudalism, to a national regime that would liberate Egypt from these forces.

After the dissolution of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1954, some Brothers were jailed, others moved to the Arab states in the Gulf or went underground, and a new phase of underground political Islam started with ***Ma'alim fi Al-Tariq***. The Muslim Brothers were thinking about their sad experiences and waiting for the moment to take revenge from Nasserism. They considered all its achievements to be losses and its failures to be successes - except the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the stopping of the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, and the release of the Brothers from prison to arm them to participate in the defense of the Suez Canal. After its liberation, the Brothers went back to prison having performed their national duty. However, the unity with Syria, 1958-1961, was made on a national non-Islamic basis, and this was why it

was severed in 1961. The July socialist laws (1962-1963) were promulgated in the name of secular socialism or Marxism that was allied with 'Abd Al-Nasir. This is why they were abrogated after the imposition of the law of investment and the open-door economy of 1975. The Yemeni war led to bloodshed between Muslims - Egyptians and Yemenis - and was one of the reasons for the defeat of 1967. The Islamic coalition between Riyadh, Tehran and Karachi in 1965 did not succeed in isolating Nasserite Egypt from the outside world, and the success of the Israeli aggression on Egypt in 1967 put on halt the Nasserite experience that ended with the death of its leader in September 1970 and with it the experience of the first republic.

When the second republic started in 1971, it started to liquidate the Nasserite experience in the coup of May 15, 1971, which was named the rectification revolution. The Muslim Brothers, the enemies of 'Abd Al-Nasir, were freed from prison so that they could be used to dismantle his policies, to constitute one front against the common enemy of atheist socialism and to defend belief and capitalism. The October war of 1973 broke out under the pressures of student demonstrations in 1972, of the war of attrition (1967-1969) and people's expectation of a decisive battle. The Egyptian forces crossed the Suez Canal and the sand barrier to Sinai chanting "Allah Akbar."

After its success, the war was construed in religious terms in order to take revenge against 'Abd Al-Nasir, even though he had originally formed the liberation plan 'Badr' and had prepared the army for the war of liberation. The conclusion was drawn that because of atheism during the Nasserite period, defeat had occurred and because of belief in the Sadat period, victory had been achieved. The Virgin appeared in Zaytoun after the defeat to share in the sorrows of the Egyptians, and the believers crossed the Suez Canal in the victory of 1973 while chopping the heads of the Jews, as they had done in the Badr conquest.

The slogan of "knowledge and belief" became the motto of the second republic, for those without belief cannot be trusted. This slogan was used in order to purge the regime of the communist remnants of the Nasserite period. The laws of investment and open-door policy were published in 1975, and the Muslim Brothers started cooperating with the new regime against the old regime. The Nasserites were purged from the universities by the Islamists in 1976-1977 and the Islamic movement was able to impose itself on the campuses and lead the elections of the student union.

Religion was used by the two parties: by the political regime as a tool to add political legitimacy after the coup of May 15, and by the Islamic movement who continued the propaganda and Islamic activities in order to gain popularity that would prepare it for either a democratic victory - because the regime allowed multi-party politics - or a military coup with popular support when time was ripe, that is, when the political regime was weakened and the Islamic movement stronger.

In prisons, discussions between the members of the Islamic movement took place about the course of the Brotherhood and its losses and successes. A trend that was more radical than the generation of the pioneers was forming, one that wished to avenge what had happened to the movement and wanted to use violence by way of secret armed organizations and assassination - for violence can only be met with violence. The contemporary Islamic groups began to practice this new vision as was shown in the attempt to seize a military technical school in 1974 and then the seizure of the Assiut province a few years later. The death of Sheikh Al-Dhahabi in 1977 also had an impact. The Islamic movement splintered into many small groups, like ***al-Takfir wa al-Hijra***, under the leadership of Shukri Mustapha, which was the name given by the security departments for ***Jama'at al-Muslimin***, and the groups ***Qif wa Tabayyan***, ***Qutbiyyin*** and ***al-Amr bi al-Ma'ruf wa al-Nahy 'An al-Munkar***. All are grouped under ***al-Jama'at al-Islamiyya***, if they are

united by external or internal reason or ***al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya***, if they act individually according to their peaceful or militant means.

After the popular uprising of January 1977 and the realization on the part of the new regime that Nasserism and the pictures of Jamal 'Abd Al-Nasir were still prominent in the movements of the masses from Alexandria to Aswan, Sadat started to look for new allies outside Egypt - Israel and the United States of America. He visited Jerusalem in November of the same year and concluded the Camp David Accord in 1978 and the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement in 1979. Furthermore, to increase his control and power, and after the Arab Rejectionist Front cut relations with Egypt, Sadat issued new laws that restricted freedom in addition to the emergency, suspicion and shame laws. He also raised the motto of "Egypt First" and "Knowledge and Belief".

Sadat took on the role of father of the family who defended the values of the village, put on the traditional gown, held a stick and sat on a stool, and was given the title of "The Believing President" and "***Khamis al-Khulafa' al-Rashidin***". He was referred to as "Muhammad" Anwar Al-Sadat, in imitation of the Prophet, and he started his speeches with the words "In the Name of God", and not as 'Abd Al-Nasir used to do, "0, Citizens, Brothers". He would end his speeches with a Qur'anic verse to give the impression of modesty and humility, so that he could hide his repression and despotism, "Our Lord, Do not punish as if we forget or err; our Lord, do not hold a grudge against us as You held a grudge against those before us; our Lord, do not make us carry more than we can shoulder, forgive us, pardon us, have mercy on us, You are our Lord, make us victorious over those people who do not believe" [1].

The political authority used the weapon of religion to excommunicate its political opponents, like the Nasserites and the communists, and accused them of atheism and materialism, using the

(1) Surat Al-Baqarah, verse 285, Qur'an.

slogan "Those who do not have a belief cannot be trusted". Therefore, both the opponents of the political regime and the Islamic movements were both excommunicated through the same logic [1].

The Islamic movement realized that it could not go along with Al-Sadat after the peace treaty with Israel, his surrendering to the West, especially the United States, the rupture of relations with the Arabs and the promulgation of laws restricting various freedoms. This ended the period of reciprocity between Sadat and the Islamists, during which he used them to liquidate the Nasserites from the universities and public life and to take over the centers of power in the media and society. They then decided to stand against him and ally themselves with the Nasserite, Marxist and liberal opposition. The opposition forces united to formulate alternative policies for rejecting peace with Israel and resisting the United States of America, while calling for Arab unity and rejecting the laws restricting freedoms.

Sadat wanted to get rid of the coalition of the opposition forces in order to prove that his people were behind him after Manheim Begin shed doubt on the support of the Egyptian people for the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Sadat wanted to show that the opposition was a wicked elitist minority that did not represent the majority of people who supported peace, and that he was capable of arresting and jailing them in twenty-four hours. He did that, in fact, and arrested all the representatives of opposition movements, including the Islamists, Nasserists, Marxists and liberals. He also transfered university professors and journalists from their work and removed Pope Shounuda, the head of the Coptic Church, from his post in what was referred to as the September 1981 massacre. Sadat was assassinated one month later, on October 6, 1981, by army officers and soldiers who belonged to the ***Jama'at Al-Jihad al-Islamiyya*** [2].

(1) See Hassan Hanafi, "***Al-Tatawwur al-Dini fi Masr al-Haditha***", and "***Athar al-'Amil al-Dini 'ala Tawzi' al-Dakhal al-Qawmi fi Misr***", in ***Al-Din wa al-Thawra fi Misr***, 1952-1981, pp. 3-288.

(2) See Hassan Hanafi, "***Al-Usuliyya al-Islamiyya***", in ***Al-Din wa al Thawra fi Misr***, 1952-1981 vol. 6, pp. 3-205.

From 1981 until the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Islamic movements followed the same path, that is, armed conflict against the ruling political regime in Egypt. Sadatism continued without Sadat, and the relations with Israel continued notwithstanding the refusal of Egyptian political forces, unions, syndicates, and civil organizations to normalize relations with Israel. The Luxor massacre of 1999 cancelled the tourist season. Other incidents that contributed to this include incidents against tourists at the pyramids, the throwing of bombs in Liberation Square *(Al Tahrir)* and gunfights between the police and the Islamists in Upper Egypt. This illustrates that the Islamic groups have control over public life and can affect the economy, create political strife and seize the media through the backdoor by being on the front pages of daily newspapers. Tensions between the Islamic groups and the political regime lessened because the groups reconsidered the use of violence and the shedding of innocent blood through the attack on tourists as in the Luxor incident. This was facilitated by the emergence of a new wing that prohibited such actions because the innocent should not be treated as guilty. Nonetheless, tension continues because the Islamic groups are still the main opposition force in the country, and the security departments are watching them closely.

IV- The Slogans of Political Islam

The analysis of the slogans of contemporary Islamic movements as signs of their political ideologies and psychological moods shows that they are more negative than positive. They indicate a great deal of anger and rejection, the desire for an escape to the alternative and a quest for a savior. There are four slogans: the governance of God, Islam is the alternative, Islam is the solution, and the implementation of the ***shari'a***.

The first slogan, "the governance of God," is the rejection of the governance of humans that persecuted the Islamic movement,

whether in the liberal period that witnessed the assassination of Hassan Al-Banna or the nationalist period that witnessed the martyrdom of 'Abd Al-Qadir 'Awda, Sayyid Qutb and others from *Jama'at Al-Jihad* such as 'Abd Al-Salam Faraj and Khalid Muhammad Al-Islambuli. God is the governor who does not do injustice and He knows the interests of His servants. His governance is manifest in applying His will, commands and prohibitions, which are made clear in the *shari'a*. This position is clarified by the Qur'anic text in three verses: "And those who do not govern by what God has revealed they are the unbelievers" (1), in another verse, "they are the unjust" and in a third verse, "they are the heretics". The governance of God is against the governance of human wishes and class interests. The governance of God cannot be wrong but human governance could be wrong or right. Therefore, this slogan connotes the rejection of all human systems of government: liberal, nationalist, socialist, Marxist, democratic, republican, royal, princely, statist, sultanic and popular. The slogan means rejection and negation.

If you ask the Islamic group what the governance of God means in a positive manner, the answer is difficult because God does not rule directly but through the *shari'a*. People understand and deduce the *shari'a* from its fundamentals and apply it in place and time according to necessity. When greater detail is required, the principle of *shura* is transformed into a system of government, the principle of social justice into a theory of economics and the principle of the right to differ into a theory of political pluralism. When the Islamic movement comes to power, as is the case in Sudan, Afghanistan under the Taliban, and Iran, it is transformed into an authoritarian regime that does not differ from the secular political regimes; authoritarianism is a social structure and a cultural tradition used mostly by both the political regimes and opposition movements, including the Islamic movement.

(1) Surat Al-Ma'idah, verse 44, Qur'an. The following two verses come from the same chapter, verses 45 and 47.

The second slogan, "Islam is the alternative," also represents a massive rejection of all available alternatives that have been tried in the life of Muslims: liberalism, socialism and then Arab nationalism. Perhaps, liberalism has offered some achievements at the level of freedom of thought, expression, journalism, and party and parliamentary life. In the meantime, the national movement was strengthened and the revolution of 1919 was made in its name. Nonetheless, feudalism, capitalism and orientation to the West prevailed. The corrupt parties repressed each other, elections were falsified and parliament could be dissolved whenever the king wished, the constitution was a gift from him, and the British were still in the country. Furthermore, during that period, the treaty of 1936 was signed and the catastrophe of 1948 took place.

Liberalism was then followed by socialism or Arab nationalism, which realized some achievements, such as the nationalization of Suez Canal in 1956 and foreign companies in 1957, the unity with Syria during 1958-1961, the implementation of the July socialist law during 1962-1963, the support of the Yemeni revolution in 1964, the Iraqi revolution in 1958, the Libyan revolution in 1969, the rejection of peace and negotiations with the Zionist entity in 1967, the war of attrition during 1968-1969, adoption of free education and the beginning of industrialization. It also included uniting the Arabs and taking liberation movements to their conclusions, building the public sector, the foundation of the non-allied movement under the motto "Neither East nor West" since the Ban Dong conference in 1955 until the Belgrade conference in 1964, and the conferences in Algeria, Cairo and New Delhi. However, it ended in a catastrophic defeat in 1967 following the dominance of the new class that comprised of officers, technocrats, senior state employees and party men, and the spread of massive corruption, repression and looting of the public sector. Sinai, the rest of Palestine and the Golan Heights were occupied and greater Israel was established. Soviet migrations to Israel followed as well as the recognition of Israel and the alliance with the United States of America.

The same continued in the second and third republics, the public sector was privatized, free education was privatized, national planning was transformed to foreign investment and national sovereignty gave way to globalization and market economies. The Islamic movement was incriminated and its leaders were martyred; the Islamists were excluded and imprisoned and then were used against the political opposition, becoming the victims of political games. The legacy of this age is alive; it agitates loathing, incites hatred and is waiting for revenge.

The third slogan, "Islam is the solution," is like the previous slogan. When crises intensified and disasters followed, and when the regimes were incapable of resolving them, the slogan of Islam as the solution surfaced as a search for the unknown and the magic key to open all gates to resolve the inability to find the proper solutions for the crises that mounted day after day. Liberalism did not succeed in liberating Palestine, of which half was lost in the liberal period in 1948 and the other half in the socialist period in 1967. The Islamic movement was persecuted in the liberal period in which Hassan Al-Banna was assassinated. It was also persecuted in the socialist period and 'Abd Al-Qadir 'Awda, Sayyid Qutb and 'Abd Al-Salam Faraj were executed.

The nation was divided during the liberal period after World War I, which saw the defeat of Turkey and its occupation by the Western powers and the division of the treasures of the Sick Man. The nation was fragmented into Arabs, Berbers, Kurds, Sunnites, Shi'ites, Maronites and Copts, and civil wars took place in Sudan, Lebanon and Algeria. The borders between Morocco and Algeria were closed, clashes between Egypt and Sudan occurred, differences between Yemen and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and between Qatar and Bahrain happened, as did the Iraqi invasion of the state of Kuwait where a group of Arabs joined the Western coalition and another was opposed to it. Israel transgressed the borders Lebanon, Tunisia, Iraq, Syria and Egypt, and still wanted to reach Iran and Pakistan.

The ideologies of liberalism and socialist nationalism could not resolve the issues of development, neither through capitalism nor through socialism. They also could not resolve the issue of identity after it had become Western in the liberal period or in the third republic through the impact of globalization and openness. Since experience has shown the failure of secular ideologies to modernize, and because Islam is the only ideology that has not been tried until now, an Islamic rule is under experiment now in Afghanistan and Sudan resulting in great loss of freedom. The Islamic revolutionary experience in Iran is in danger because of the polarization between the reformists and the conservatives and the attempt of each to control the state sectors, such as the army, the parliament, the judiciary and information. The 'Islamic' coup in the Sudan ended in conflict between the two leaders, 'Umar Al-Bashir and Hassan Al-Turabi, in addition to the armed conflict between the North and the South.

The fourth slogan, "the implementation of the ***shari'a***", represents people's dissatisfaction with the set of civil political, social and economic laws that rule over them. People do not know the reason for their promulgation, for changing them or the interests that they represent. All of these laws are equally bad in terms of injustice and incompatibility with and harm to the interests of the people. People call for the implementation of Islamic ***shari'a*** as an escape from civil laws. If humans are unjust, God is just; and if civil legislations express the will of the rulers and their desires, the divine ***shari'a*** is just and does not commit injustice - it expresses the divine will that cannot be partial.

Political regimes follow the wills and choices of the rulers, whether liberal or socialist, and the ruler himself may change them depending on his mood, development, interests and alliances. The capitalist and socialist economic systems depend on either private or public property and on economic freedom or orientation. All of this is decided by the rulers without due consideration to the interests of

the people. The wage policy changes everyday and people do not know its criteria - it leads to poverty and destitution, there is no parity with prices and it is not based on the value of labor alone, but gives the white collar more than it gives the blue collar. The educational systems and their rules change every few years, and they do not change for educational reasons, nor do they lead to research, but to obeying the rulers and the traditions of the elders. The citizen is at the mercy of the governmental institutions, whether to get a building permit, a driving license or an identification card, or his right to a court or to complain to the police department. He longs for a system that does not oppress people and for a just law.

Since Islam is still alive and the ***shari'a*** is accepted as a means of worship, it is right, both existentially and psychologically, that people should raise the slogan of implementing the Islamic ***shari'a,*** although it is only implemented by men who do not understand it and implement it literally, as is the case in many conservative Islamic regimes in Sudan, Iran, Afghanistan, North Nigeria and Chad. In those places the Islamic majority established itself and sacrificed the unity of the country for the implementation of Islamic ***shari'a***. This is also the case in some Indonesian regions [(1)].

When analyzing the early traditional slogans of the Muslim Brothers - "God is our leader", "the Prophet is our example", "the Qur'an is our constitution", "***jihad*** is our way" and "dying for the sake of God is the highest of our hopes", which constituted the collective and principal motto of the Brotherhood - we find that they also express the social, economic and political conditions. "God is our leader" means the dissatisfaction with human leadership, for all humans are domineering, repressive and unjust, and want only to maintain their power, whether a king or an officer, Quraysh or the army, delegated from God or elected by the people. All rule by false delegation and election. The leadership of God therefore is better

(1) See Hassan Hanafi, "***Al-Hakimiyya Tatahadda***", in ***Humum al-Fikr wa al-Watan***: ***Turath al- 'Asr wa al-Hadatha***, vol. 1, pp. 429-450.

than human leadership. "The Prophet is our example" means that the human example is rare and that all humans are imperfect and that the rulers are not examples to be followed. The Prophet is the example, both in his life and behavior, along with his family and companions, and in his words and deeds.

"The Qur'an is our constitution" means the dissatisfaction with human constitutions that express the will of the rulers, for they change and include articles that provide them with absolute powers and restrict the freedom of people. This is why popular uprisings take place in order to abrogate the constitutions or to amend some of their articles. The Qur'an is a constitution because it does not discriminate or favor anyone, and it is a divine constitution that transcends time, place and age. "*Jihad* is our way" means the rejection of subjugation, of yielding to the enemy, of acceptance of humiliation and of having relations that harm the interest of the country. Thus, *jihad* is the best way for attaining our rights. Finally, "martyrdom for the sake of God is the dearest of our wishes" means love of death instead of a shameful life, that the martyrs are alive in the eye of God and that the martyrs of resistance in southern Lebanon and Palestine are capable of holding out before the strongest of armies and the most modem weaponry by using their booby trapped bodies and vehicles against the enemy.

The analysis of the mottos of a political movement leads to the same conclusion, that is, dissatisfaction with reality and the rejection of its imperatives, and the longing for a new reality. For example the slogan "God is Great, and Praise be to God" means that God is greater than any great personality, God is greater than any oppressor and is the eliminator of arrogant powers. This is the slogan of the Islamic revolution in Iran that was directed against the deification of humans, revering the rulers and sanctifying the tyrants. At the same time, it means humility and thanks and praise to God for his support of what is right over what is wrong and justice over injustice.

The motto "Khaybar, Khaybar, O Jews, Muhammad's army will return" is a rejection of the nation's inability to face the Zionist entity and its settlements, expansion, repression of the Aqsa uprising and the killing of the children who are throwing stones. History is a connected series, and as the Prophet was victorious over the Jews in Khaybar, Muslims will be victorious now in Palestine by the same weapon, that is, Islam. The motto "By our spirit, by our blood, we sacrifice for Islam" has the same meaning of "By our spirit, by our blood, we sacrifice for Palestine" and the same as the mottos of martyrdom "By our spirit, by our blood, we sacrifice for the martyr" and "There is no god but God, and the martyr is loved by God".

V- The Dialects of Legitimacy and Illegitimacy

The relation between the Islamic movements and the political regimes is defined by the concepts of legitimacy and illegitimacy and this is a reciprocal perception. When the political regimes are legitimate and genuinely elected by the people, the Islamic movement emerges and takes its share of representation in parliament, in the parliamentary systems. Violent practices then become the exception on both sides because of the new democratic experiences of Islamic movements in Muslim societies. When the political regimes are authoritarian and repressive, and exercise control through security and police departments, this reflects negatively on the Islamic movements, which resort to violence. Public violence is countered by secret violence, and repressive violence by liberation violence. Repressive violence can only be countered by revolutionary violence, as is the case in the relations between the revolutionary organizations and the dictatorial regimes in Latin America [1]. The political regimes started violence, not only against the Islamic movements but also against liberal, national, Islamic opposition movements. Violence as a beginning leads to

(1) Oppressive Violence, Liberating Violence, and Revolutionary Violence.

violence as an end, and violence as an action produces violence as a reaction.

There is visible violence, as practiced by security departments against the Islamic movements, as well as invisible violence, like distorting their image in the media, excluding them from the decision-making center and interfering in the elections of unions, syndicates, non-governmental organizations and political parties in order to defeat the Islamist candidates. It is also manifest in not allowing them to publish their daily newspapers and weekly magazines or engage in their regular activities, putting their members under surveillance and preventing them from traveling and suspecting their leaders and their way of life and practices - the beard, the gown, prayer beads, headscarf, closed groups, and the manner of marriage and kinship. The Islamic movements are also attacked by the governmental preachers of enlightenment and accused of darkness, backwardness, reactionary thought, fundamentalism and formalism. It results in repressed violence that could spontaneously explode when there is a social trigger factor.

There are four types of relations between political regimes and Islamic movements. The first is the parliamentary type that allows the legitimacy of the Islamic movement and regards it as part of the political system and as one of the opposition forces. The democratic political regime produces a democratic Islamic movement that does not practice violence and accepts the results of the elections. Sometimes, the Islamic movement transcends its representative role to perform the national mission of the state in defending the unity of national territories and the independence of the country. The best example of this is the Lebanese experience and the role of Islamic movements in the Lebanese political regime where ***Hizbullah*** carried the main burden for the liberation of southern Lebanon from Israeli occupation, with the agreement of the state, within the framework of a constitutional legitimacy and with the appreciation of the state and the people for its role.

The second type is represented by the military and royal regimes that allow the legitimacy of Islamic movements, not out of favoring democracy or believing in the legitimacy of the Islamic movements as well as their organizations, programs, or practices, but out of expediency in order to bring about some stability to the political regime, social life and the security of the state. Examples of this are the Jordanian, Yemeni, Kuwaiti, Moroccan and Bahraini experiences. Jordan started this experience by allowing the Muslim Brothers and other Islamic groups to run for parliamentary elections and to accept the rule of the democratic process - successes and failures, the majority and the minority. If the Islamic movement is successful in achieving some of its professed objectives, its representation in the next round of elections increases, but if it has achieved nothing and people have not felt the practical implementation of its professed objectives, its representation in the next round of elections decreases. The second probability is closer to what the parties in the autocratic, military or royal, regimes would want, but is very difficult to achieve because the main political decisions are monopolized by the political regime.

The Kuwaiti experience is similar to the Jordanian experience due to a long democratic history of the political regime and the strength of opposition on the street, journalism, and the parliament with all its Islamic, liberal and national groupings. Notwithstanding the radicalism of some groups of the Islamic movement like ***Jama'at al-Islah*** and the dissatisfaction of the political regime with opposition, democratic practices are still dominant.

Bahrain was aware of the political dynamics and followed the same democratic experience in the form of changing the political regime from a non-constitutional princedom to a constitutional monarchy, just as reformists like Al-Afghani had called for a century and a half before. The opposition outside of Bahrain, whether national, Islamic or liberal, returned to the country, and the university professors who were expelled returned to their jobs.

The royal regime in Morocco was the first to permit political participation, when the king allowed the organization of the Muslim Brothers, which supported the throne, to have a nominal presence without any effective power in political life. The king was the "Prince of the Believers," and Muhammad V and 'Allal Al-Fasi were national religious personalities. The ***Hizb al-Istiqlal*** was composed of the scholars of the Qarawiyyin. Religion existed in the political sphere in the name of the political regime and not because of the pressure of the Muslim Brothers. If an Islamic movement moved out of this type of relationship, its members would be excluded, marginalized, chased out and sentenced to execution, as happened to the Islamic Youth movement. They could also be placed under house arrest, as was the case with 'Abd Al-Salam Yasin, the leader of ***Jama'at al-'Adl wa al-Ihsan***, after he sent a letter of advice to the young King, Muhammad VI, who moved away from the democratic opening at the beginning of his rule and again stifled ***Jama'at al-'Adl wa al-Ihsan***. The King had done this because he depended on the socialists in government who had a parliamentary majority, and acted in a style similar to the Middle Eastern rulers who led the different groups of the opposition to fight each other in accordance with the perception of their relative threat, the most dangerous being eliminated first.

The political regime in Yemen followed the same democratic approach after it received new legitimacy by maintaining the unity of the South and the North against the danger of secession. Although there were some violent practices by ***Hizb al-Islah*** in Yemen, which is connected with the Muslim Brothers, the experience of multi-party politics continues, even though the ruling party has received a majority in parliament. There is also tension between the two groups of national and Islamic opposition, which also indicates that the game of pitting political forces against each other continues, as is the case in Egypt.

There is a third type of relationship between political regimes and Islamic movements found in the experiences of Egypt, Syria,

Iraq, and Libya, which are military regimes. A political regime of this type emerges from a military coup and derives its legitimacy from revolution. The military coup leads to an un-Islamic regime, since it is not based on contract and free choice of the people. Therefore, it lacks legitimacy, which again results in the slogans of Islamic movements, such as "divine governance", representing a threat to it. This third type does not legitimize the Islamic movements because they represent simultaneously a danger and an alternative to it.

There is a repressed conflict between the political regime and Islamic movements that simmers constantly, and surfaces from time to time, as is the case with the expatriate ***Shi'ite*** Islamic opposition in Iraq and the Islamic opposition in Libya, which reached the level of armed conflict in the mountains near Benghazi a short while ago. The same happened to the Muslim Brothers in Syria after the massacre of Hamah and their imprisonment, then their release in order to join a government coalition. Other examples are the Islamic movements in Egypt, especially ***Jama'at Al-Jihad al-Islamiyya***, which still views the political regime as an illegitimate one that should be resisted, even if the innocent die, as happened in cases such as the attack against foreign tourists and symbols of the state.

The third form of political relationship also exists in the royal regimes of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Sultanate in Oman, the government of the United Arab Emirates, and the princedom of Qatar. The regimes derive their legitimacy in one way or another from Islam. The king of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the Custodian of the Two Holy Shrines, and Islam is the culture, behavior and civilization of the people in the Sultanate of Oman, the Princedom of Qatar and the State of the United Arab Emirates. The distinction is due to the emergence of reformist trends within the traditional Islamic movements, such as the neo-Wahhabism in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which reject some political practices that

occur in the kingdom in the name of traditional Wahhabism. Examples of these practices are the increasing dependence on the United States of America after the second Gulf war and the bringing in of foreign troops. In this case, there is no difference between the Islamic forces and other liberal, national, patriotic forces, as well as religious scholars, intellectuals, human rights groups, civil societies and women's movements.

The fourth type represents the most tense relationship between the political regime and the Islamic movement, as exists in Sudan and Algeria. In Sudan, a coup took place that was led by the Islamic movement and the army, that is, the religious authority and the military authority. In its aftermath, many parties went into exile outside Sudan and formed an opposition front, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), which included members of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA), with the leader of the Rally, Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani, as the head of the opposition forces. The conflict continues after the arrest of Hassan Al-Turabi because of his agreement with John Garang, the leader of the SPLA. The civil war between the North and the South has been going on for some time, and may be compounded by a situation of North against North. At the same time, Sudan is under foreign sanctions, and the ***Al-Shifa'*** factory for medicine was bombed because of the charge that it was producing biological weapons. The people in the South are facing famine because of the war between the government and the opposition, that is, Islam and the rebel groups.

The most dangerous case, however, is Algeria where a civil war is occurring between the antagonistic brothers, the Islamists and the state, after a democratic opening brought about through a popular uprising during the rule of al-Shadhili Bin Jadid. This resulted in the success of the Islamic movement in the elections for legislative councils, which were then cancelled by the military. The movement turned to armed struggle to regain the electoral victory cancelled by the army, bringing about the death of around seventy thousand

martyrs, including women, children and old people. The law issued to promote national harmony has not succeeded in ending the war. Furthermore, the disagreements among the leaders of the Islamic movement about the purpose of the war and its ugliness did not make it less acute. The state incriminates the Islamists because they kill innocent fellow citizens, and the Islamists excommunicate the state because it does not rule by Islamic law and because it follows an authoritarian system. Each party engages in excluding and casting away the other, and there is no light at the end of the tunnel.

VI- The Future of Political Islam

It is clear from the dialectics of legitimacy and illegitimacy that there is more political stability in the democratic political regimes where the Islamic movement becomes a legitimate party. The Islamic political discourse is transformed from its rejectionist slogans to a political discourse that is based on a program that builds and does not destroy and that dialogues and does not exclude others. The political regime also feels that its stability depends on democracy and recognition of the Islamic movement's legitimacy, as is the case with other recognized political parties, whether nationalist, liberal or even Marxist - it is not desirable that a party on the margins should have more popular legitimacy than the others. Party life is energized and the democratic experience strengthened in the regimes that recognize the legitimacy of the Islamic movement, for example, Jordan, Kuwait and Yemen; and perhaps Bahrain and Morocco are following the same course.

Political pluralism is of dual nature: it puts limits on the excesses of the ruling party and its absolute authority, and gives people free democratic choice between alternatives. Therefore, instead of having tensions building between the political regimes of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Tunisia and the secret Islamic movements that work underground or go into exile, and instead of having the occasional outbreaks of violence, the political regime can stabilize

and the Islamic movements can live in a healthy political environment if they are given legitimacy and are turned into political parties with social and economic programs. Islam then becomes a popular culture that also acts as a vehicle for political and social concerns.

The main obstacle is still the lack of legitimacy of both the political regime and the Islamic movement, for each side wants to exclude the other. The political regime wants to eliminate all opposition, but so does the Islamic movement because it regards itself as the strongest among opposition forces that want to overthrow and replace the regime: the latter may not be factual but it lives in the hopes of the people and in the media. The historical weight of the struggle in the past precludes a dialogue in the present and a coalition in the future. The two sides are afraid of each other. Each one waits for the other to make a mistake so that it can overpower the other and get rid of it, and does not know that by doing this it destroys itself and the temple the way Samson did.

The condition that the political regime imposes for the recognition of the legitimacy of the Islamic movement is that it should reject violence and accept the rules of party politics. It should also turn its slogan to a political program, like other parties do, because the constitution prohibits the establishment of parties on religious bases, which would make the state a collection of sectarian parties. Some Islamic movements adhered to this condition. For example, in Egypt some wings in the Islamic movement wanted to establish the ***Wasat*** party and lodged a request to set up a party with the 'committee for establishing parties' in the ***shura*** council. Nonetheless, the political regime refused to grant a license to the party under the pretext that the program did not offer anything different from that of the other parties. The political regime arrested the founding members on the charge of establishing an illegal party for the Brothers that had been dissolved in 1954, although the press reported its activities, meetings, victories and losses in the local and

general elections, in which the movement's candidates participated as independents. There has now been another attempt to establish the party of ***al-Adala*** and the waiting continues, without any approval or refusal. This is also the Turkish scenario in the formation of Islamic parties, like Refah and Fadila, in a secular state, which officially prohibits religious parties. Secularism seems to be an authoritarian, exclusivist, absolute and unilateral alternative theocracy.

The same happened in Tunisia when the Islamic movement formed the ***Nahda*** party under the leadership of Rashid Al-Ghannushi. Its program is not much different from Tunisian secular parties. It accepts the democratic process and it is recognized as part of that process. It also rejects violence and recognizes human rights, including, the rights of women, and the right of all people in a just distribution of wealth, which makes it a national, liberal and progressive party. Nonetheless, the political regime refuses to recognize it and harasses its members. It also wants to arrest its leader who lives abroad in Western capitals with freedom of expression and movement - which form part of good Western political culture. The leader is still waiting to change the political regime through a counter military coup or a massive popular revolution so that liberalism, political pluralism and human rights may return.

The Muslim Brothers were released in Syria under the new regime after the massacre of Hamah and the destruction of the city that followed the uprising of the Muslim Brothers under the old regime. The Muslim Brothers asked the regime to forget the past and to start a new period, in which they would have legality and the right to form a group and to practice their activities. Nonetheless, the political regime refused to accept the legitimacy of the group, except as part of a governmental coalition, as individuals but not as a group, and as members but not as an organization. The new regime was still wavering between openness and rejection, between the old practice and the requirements of the new regime, and between sole control of the political system and multi-party politics.

The Islamic movement has been put between a rock and a hard place - if it defends its existence and practices its activities, it is accused of planning a coup against the ruling regime, practicing violence, committing crimes and threatening the domestic security from the inside and national security from the outside. If it gives up violence, accepts the rules of democratic process and wants to be part of the social fabric and the course of history, the political regime refuses out of fear that the movement might get the parliamentary majority. In both cases, the political regime stands to lose, but it would be a short-term loss and a long-term victory for the country.

The political regime is also caught between the hammer and the anvil. If it accepts the legitimacy of the Islamic movement as a political party, the regime will be the victim because the new party will gain the parliamentary majority and the ruling party will be the big loser in the short term. If the regime refuses to license the Islamic movement as a political party, the regime will be the big loser in the long term, and the movement is left with nothing but violence, resulting in counter violence by the political regime, and the killing of the innocent, as is the case in Algeria.

In fact, there is no alternative to political pluralism as a ruling system and a national coalition front composed of all political forces, including the Islamic movement, whether it is a party or a group, in accordance with the result of the ballot box. It would then be impossible for government parties or opposition parties to have a majority.

There are four political forces that are originally intellectual trends in the Arab world: liberalism, nationalism (Nasserism and Arab socialism), Marxism although its regimes collapsed more than a decade ago, and the Islamic movement. Each of these ideologies ruled alone. Liberal parties ruled in the Arab world from the 1950s, before the Arab revolutions, and some of them still rule in Yemen, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Lebanon and Sudan, whether in royal or military regimes. People still yearn for the political freedom of

liberalism, not only economic freedom. The national regimes resulting from the Arab revolutions took the form of military government in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya, and later the national liberation movement, like Algeria. Most of them turned into a liberal military regime after the June 1967 defeat or into a pure military regime, like Tunisia.

Militarism stayed, but socialism turned into liberalism without its values, whereas corruption, theft and looting of public money dominated. This happened first in Egypt, then in Syria and then in Yemen. Only Iraq maintained it, although the country was besieged after its invasion of the state of Kuwait, and Libya was besieged because of the charges of Lockerby and support for terrorism. Marxism has only one voice in the coalition front in Syria and Iraq, and only remnants of parties in Lebanon. The Islamic movement is more prominent in Lebanon, Sudan, Kuwait, Yemen, Morocco and Jordan. It also exists through opposition groups outside their countries, such as in the case of Iraq and Tunisia, or inside, as is the case in Egypt and Algeria.

Political pluralism is a fact in modern Arab political thought, and one group cannot exclude the other. Political groups may differ in their representation and practices. They may agree with each other on some common national objectives as well as the means to attain them, but they do not transcend the theoretical framework and motive. The groups representing the four intellectual ideologies agree on the liberation of Palestine - in the name of Arab nationalism for the Nasserites and the nationalists, and in the name of a free Palestine for the liberal nationalists, in the name of the peasants and laborers and against settler colonialism, which is the highest stage of capitalism for the Marxist, and in the name of ***jihad*** to liberate the holy lands and the Al-Aqsa mosque for the Islamists. The political regimes, whether liberal or Islamic, royal or military, statist, sultanic or republican, do not differ on these issues. The objective is one but the theoretical frameworks and the practical means are many.

Moreover, the four groups agree, even if nominally, on the freedom of citizens and their protection against repression and authoritarianism. The slogan of liberalism stresses freedom of expression, movement and party formation, and derives its legitimacy from freedom. Freedom, socialism and unity are the main banners of the national movement, with some focus on the freedom of people rather than the freedom of individuals - for there is no separation between bread and freedom. Marxism is also based on liberating individuals from exploitation and peoples from colonialism. The goal of a command economy - based on planning and state direction as well as public ownership of the means of production - is the liberation of individuals from the control of capital. The Islamic movement embodies in its slogans of freedom and equality the saying of 'Umar Bin Al-Khattab, "When did you enslave people while their mother gave them birth as free people", and the testimony "No god but God", which is a declaration of freedom of the human conscience from all sorts of human repression by negation "No god", then affirmation "but God" [1].

Furthermore, the various orientations agree on achieving the unity of the Islamic nation in the name of Islam and divine unity, which is reflected in the unity of the nation, the unity of the Arab nation that transcends the borders of the national state, and the unity of the working class, that is the laborers and peasants under the banner "Workers of the World, Unite" as in Marxism. They also agree on pursuing the unity of the market and its laws of liberalism, through free imports, exports and multinational companies. In the age of globalization the smaller entities unite in greater regional associations, for the national state cannot compete except through more comprehensive and wider regional associations.

They also agree on developing human and natural resources, in the name of man, the master of nature, in liberalism, and the dialectics

(1) See Hassan Hanafi, *"Madha Ta'ani Shahadat 'La Ilaha illa Allah, wa Anna Muhammadan Rasul Allah?" Al-Din wa al-Thawra fi Misr,* 1952-1981: *Al-Yamin wa al-Yasar fi al-Fikr al-Dini*, vol. 7, pp. 147-161.

between man and nature in Marxism, planning in Arab nationalism, and divine utilization of the earth for the good of man, who may build and enjoy its fruits, according to the Islamic conception. The literature of different intellectual and political trends emphasizes independent development as a condition for sustainable development, establishing equilibrium in the balance of payments, increasing the rates of development and decreasing the rates of inflation in order to absorb the population increase without lowering the standard of living.

Defending identity against alienation is a principal aspect of the Islamic movement that has reached the level of exclusion, as in, for example, "You have your religion, and I have my religion"[1], and opposition to imitation of the other. It is also the pivot of nationalist thought, which is based on nationalist glory and independence from the two main camps in the age of polarization, a position that was called "positive alignment," "non-alignment" or "The Third World states". Marxism achieves this through the identity of the worker, preventing his alienation through his work and preventing his subordination to the capitalist. Liberalism believes in a common human identity, an identity of civilization and urbanization, that is based on the achievements of the modern age, an identity that is balanced and brings together the old and the new, and the authentic and the contemporary since the dawn of Arab renaissance.

The political forces did not differ on the mobilization of the masses against indifference and apathy. Man, according to the Islamic view, carries the trust that the heavens and earth could not shoulder. Arab nationalism is the message of history that expresses the sentiments and movement of the masses. Marxism moves the masses through social awareness and feeling of injustice. Liberalism, by its very nature, is a free activity that is committed to production and competition, and these move humans and release their energy.

The Islamic revival that started after the defeat of 1967, the Islamic revolution of Iran, the spread of Islam in both Eastern and

(1) Surat Al-Kafirun, verse 6, Qur'an.

Western Europe, in North America and Africa, and the Islamic republics in Central Asia indicates that Islam is coming and that the Islamic world is perhaps on the verge of its third phase, which began in the fifteenth century of Hijra. The first phase was completed in the first seven centuries, ending with Ibn Khaldun, then the second phase that was completed with the dawn of modern Arab renaissance in the seven centuries after Ibn Khaldun. The third phase may witness a golden age for Islamic civilization that is similar to the golden age in the first phase and which reached its zenith in the fourth century of Hijra, the age of Al-Bayruni, Al-Mutanabi, and Ibn Hayan Al-Tawhidi (1).

The challenge is not in the acceptance or rejection of Islamic revival but is in defining the formulation of the new Islam. Is it the traditional conservative Islam that is inherited from Abi Hamid Al-Ghazali and Ash'arism in creed, Shafi'ism in jurisprudence, illumination in philosophy, and the textual literalism inherited from the old and contemporary Salafism? Or is it the enlightened rational Islam that is inherited from the reform movement of Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abdu, 'Allal Al-Fasi, 'Abd Al-Hamid Bin Badis, Malik Bin Nabiy, Al-Tahir and Al-Fadl 'Ashur, 'Abd Al-Rahman Al-Kawakibi and Muhammad Iqbal? Is it perhaps the pluralist Islam that is based on the legitimacy of difference, the acceptance of dialogue and expression of the interests of the nation? Is it the fundamentalist discourse that is much talked about, or is it the post-fundamentalist discourse that is being formulated? (2)

The Islamic movement is not a cohesive whole but includes many wings and trends, from the right, the center, and left, and from tradition and reason, the text and reality, faith and revolution, and

(1) Hassan Hanafi, ***Muqaddima fi 'Ilm al-Istighrab*** (Cairo: Al-Dar al Fanniyya, 1991), pp. 695-710, and also Muhammad 'Abid Al-Jabiri and Hassan Hanafi, ***Hiwar al-Mashriq wa al-Maghrib*** (Cairo: Maktabat Madbuli, 1993), pp. 34-37.

(2) Some of its symbols are Kamil Abu Al-Majd, Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, Khalaf Allah Muhammad Khalaf Allah, the Progressive Islamists in Tunisia, the Islamic Left in Egypt and the reformers in Iran.

literalism and interpretation. It is a natural pluralism that continues the old pluralism, and it is a dialogue with the self before it takes place with the other.

The analysis of "political Islam between thought and practice" does not depend on literature, studies, researches, letters and articles on the subject, for there are many of them. It can be achieved through analyzing the collective and individual existential experiences in order to realize a new vision apart from what has been achieved through numbers, tables, statistics, dates and names of known individuals. The substance is closer to knowledge than data, and internalization leads to more understanding than statistics. This is why the 'phenomenological' method became one of the main methods in philosophy and the social sciences that was able to add something new instead of transmitting information from one reference to another and from one source to another.

Since the subject is related to movements and existing political regimes, and because every scientific analysis of the relations between them may anger this party or that on matters of survival and existence, intellectual freedom and a sound objective public search are two conditions for thinking and deduction. It is true that pure and impartial objectivity does not exist, since every researcher has his personal intellectual and political affiliation. Nonetheless, it is possible to arrive at common conclusions that are generally accepted by researchers through analyzing the common collective experience. The researcher is independent from both the authority and opposition, even if one tends to this side or that. The highest national interest is the common objective of all, and then there is no difference between the researcher and the politician. The best theoretical research is that which is based on practice and the best political practice is that which is based on scientific research.



Democracy, an end or a tool?

I- Introduction

1- Democracy became a password in contemporary socio-political jargon after 11-9-2001. The drama of the whole world is due to the lack of Democracy and consequently the necessity of democratization of the non-democratic world, namely the Muslim World, since the authors of 11-9 are Arab Muslims. The error is in the other not in the self. The other is guilty, the self is innocent. Events of 11-9-2002 are actions not a reaction to something else, power without justice, globalization as a new form of hegemony, a new cry of the oppressed against the new symbols of power, WTO, the Pentagon, the White House, economic, military and political power. Everybody does remember 11-9-2001, nobody remembers 28-9-2000, the beginning of the second ***Intifada***, left alone for a whole year, houses and fields destroyed, women and children massacred, and activists physically liquidated. Which September makes a landmark in history, and whose history?

Reviewing previous literature on democracy is a real hardship. It is not a study of an object but an object of study. It requires a complete historical survey full of hear-say contradicting arguments. Phenomenological description of living experiences of democracy is much more productive if their essences are shared by all in a comprehensive inter-subjective experience. References, marginal

(*) The Future of Democracy, Essays of the Tampere Club, Finland, Kustannus Oy Aamulehti 2003, pp. 128-135.

notes, names of books and authors sometimes obscure more than clarify. They are even used as a *comouflage* for the absence of meaning and a breakthrough in the field. It falls into academic pedantism. It confuses information and knowledge, the already known and the not yet known. Besides, most secondary literature is a Western one which makes human culture one sided. In Asia, Africa and Latin America there is a huge literature on the subject rarely mentioned. Many is written in non-European languages.

2- Democracy is a tool not an end. It is a means to implement something else, namely national objectives. Other means are also possible including authoritarianism. The South Korean experience of development was made under an authoritarian regime. The Japanese experience was made by corporative value-system based on communitarianism, loyalty, dedication, sacrifice, work ethics, and perfectionism. The huge Egyptian experience of Nation-building under Mohammed Ali in the XIX century was made by the enlightened despot. Since liberalism is a pre-requisite for democracy, not every culture passed through a liberal period. Some went from feudalism to socialism like the former Soviet Union. Truly, liberation was a transitional phase from feudalism to modernity in the Western experience. It was the carrier of mercantilism and capitalism, including social democrat and Christian-democrat political parties in the West. "Oriental Despotism" may express the spirit of the East according to Montesquieu. In fact, there is no opposition between a strong and charismatic leadership and mutual consultation and national consensus. Liberalism or authoritarianism as two opposite alternatives may express Western dichotomic worldview based on "Either-or" way of thinking.

3- Democracy, no doubt, is a universal value as such and in itself, based on mutual consultation and against monopoly of opinion. The truth, even a relative one, can be reached more soundly by a consensus rather than by a simple individual opinion. The inter-subjective experience is more certain than the subjective one. A

universal and objective judgement can be attained through reciprocity of consciousness which gives according to Husserl a higher degree of objectivity based on adequacy between several subjective experiences namely consensus, different from the classical scientific definition of truth ***Adequatio Ratio in Rei*** or the new subjective Heidegarian one *άλετεία*. Democracy, the power of the people, is a cognitive power before being a political power.

4- Democracy as a concept may differ from a culture to another. In the West, it is a quantitative concept based on majority-minority criteria. The truth is with the majority against the minority. The majority is the winner, the minority is the loser. The first is in power, the second is in the opposition. The balance may change next vote. The majority becomes minority in opposition and the minority becomes majority in power. The truth becomes falsehood and the falsehood becomes truth. The quantity makes quality, might makes right. How many times the majority was wrong such as Nazism and Fascism, one day having almost absolute majority? How many times minorities were wrong such as resistance and liberation movements and after victory they became right? For a classical philosopher the body is quantity, the soul is quality, and the question is: who is directing whom?

Democracy in the West is based on the concept of the individual and of citizenship. Other cultures are more oriented towards groups and communities, brotherhood and comradeship. The individual is a brother or a comrade. The individual does not exist ***Per-se*** but within the community, the family, the tribe or the sect. Democracy in such cultures is based on co-alitions and compromises between different groups. The same things occurs in Japan. Democracy is a national ***consensus*** or an agreement between different fractions.

II- Western Democracy

1- Democracy as a multiparty system based on free election, one man one vote, is a formal concept. The differences between the

parties may be minimal. Two big parties are in power alternatively or in a coalition may share the same ideology with different accents. Democrats and Republicans in USA share the same ideology of hegemony, invasion of Iraq and support of Israel. Labor and conservatist parties in United Kingdom share the same ideology similar to USA two big political parties. Lekud and Labor parties in Israel share the same ideology concerning the aggression on the Palestinian people, and the continuation of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza strip including Jerusalem. The objectives of the parties especially in foreign policy are the essence of the party, not its name or the number, in power or in opposition. Democracy is not a Façade, forms and devices, or political games for transfer of power. Sometimes national interests are sacrificed for political parties interests in power or in opposition.

Political Propaganda and the power of the mass media have a big impact on the vote, not necessarily a conscious reading of the political program of each party. One man one vote is a formal concept, given the differences of education and of political awareness between voters. The phenomena of the absentees began to be more visible, year after year. Peoples become more and more apolitical, feeling political apathy. They had enough from the system, the multiparty system is run for the benefit of the parties not of the country. Some vote green. At least the defence of the environment is something useful, for the benefit of all and for human survival. Sometimes the result is 50%/50% or almost couple of thousands votes decide who is in power and who is in opposition. Frauds in voting are common practices even in the most famous democracies.

2- The multi-party system did not prevent corruption: undeclared funds for election campaign, spying on the opposition party as in the famous Watergate, briberies for better treatment after the election. Corruption sometimes reaches Presidents and Vice-Presidents. Plotting against other political regimes by ***coups d'etat*** or by direct invasion became a common practice in the most Democratic States.

Democracy is sometimes double standard. The so-called Democratic States may support the most dictatorial political regimes as far as these regimes are allied with Western powers and serve their interests. Violation of human rights is tolerated as far as political regimes are allied to the so-called Western democratic States. They are opened and used as a whip once these regimes disobey big powers and defend national interests.

Democracy in the West did not prevent the surmounting rise of extreme right wing New Nazi party in Germany, new right trends in France and Austria, Christian-Zionist fundamentalism in USA and extreme right wing, the ***Lekud*** in Israel. Democracy as a façade goes in one direction and anti-democratic socio-political forces go into another direction. Minorities problems in the West till now are not resolved. In USA, red Indians are in reservations, Black, Chicanos, Apalachians, and the colored are sub-groups. The melting pot is a myth.

3- Democratization with other items such as civil society, governance, minorities, human rights, gender...etc is a foreign agenda conceived by Western democratic states to be imposed on the so-called non-democratic ones. The aim is not to implement democracy as such but to get rid of the remnants of the Nation-States of the sixties: defending public sector, food subsidies, free education, industrialization, sustainable development, economic planning...etc, policies for which masses are longing nowadays. The aim is to build a socio-political basis for globalization and market economy based on competition and profit, requiring open borders and the relinquish of national sovereignty. Democracy here is used as a tool to implement liberal economy and not as a value in itself. It is even as a ***comouflage***, a cover-up to hid exploitation and hegemony. Global governance is a substitute to nation state. Global economy is another substitute to national economy.

4- Indeed, democracy is a real need in Third World countries as an internal agenda of the peoples, aspiration for freedom and

liberalization against authoritarian culture inherited from the past, the oness of truth and the oness of leadership. It has been inherited from the past a pyramidal concept of the world, a vertical ***Weltanschauung*** between the top and the bottom, which are the roots of authoritarianism. Democratic reform and democratization of traditional societies do not occur by imposing Western formal concept of democracy but by extracting the roots of dictatorship from the mass culture. Democracy is not a political system but a mass culture. There is no democratic regime without a prior democratic culture and a democratic ***Weltanschauung***. The relation between two things is not between the top and the bottom, the vertical one, but between the forward and backward, the horizontal one. Consequently, the idea of progress can emerge, and serve as a device to switch from permanence to change, from authoritarianism to liberalism.

III- Islam and Democracy

1- The Islamic concept of democracy is something else. It is not a quantitative concept, majority-minority, power and opposition but a qualitative concept based on the right of every person to express himself freely. No one has the right to monopolize the truth and imposes his view on others. The right to differ is a legitimate right, a religious duty. The good advice, to order the good to be done and the evil not to be done, is a religious duty surmounting to an article of faith. The truth is the outcome of consensus ***Ijma'***. Every one has to spell himself out. Silence is devilish, fear and lack of commitment. Diversity of opinions is similar to diversity in nature, a creative diversity. All opinions are right once they express good intentions and public welfare. Truth is multiple as theoretical frameworks for reasoning. Practical truth is one because it fulfils the public welfare and the common interest.

2- Islamic political regime is not a theocracy. God rules neither in person nor through his so-called representative. No one on earth

has the right to represent God. The Ruler in Islam, the ***Imam***, is freely elected by the people. Sovereignty is the outcome of a social contract between the ruler and the ruled. The ruler orders and the ruled obeys provided that the order is according to the terms of the contract. If the Ruler does fail in implementing the clauses of the contract from his side the ruled have to advice him privately and publicly. If the Ruler continues the disobedience of the contract, warnings have to come publicly in Mosques preachings. If the Ruler does not listen to these warnings, the people or their speakers, the ***Ulemas***, have to bring him to court. If the high judge does rule against him and he does not obey, a popular revolt led by the high judge is launched against him. The Ruler fails his commitment if he is unjust inside and weak outside, if he fails to implement justice and if he fails to defend the borders.

3- The real ruler is not the executive power but the legislative power. Some would call this type of the rule of the law "Lawcracy". The Ruler is a person linked to his appreciation, passion and will. Law is impersonal, more objective and more just. The Ruler is only an executive power, not a legislative or a judiciary power. Law is impartial. It does express the public welfare. It gives the general guidelines, leaving the particle cases to the work of the scholars such as democracy, ***Shura***, as a political theory, social justice, ***'Adl***, as a social theory, peace, ***Salam***, as a theory in international relations. The judiciary which is completely independent from the Executive rules in cases of conflict of interpretations and decisions by the Executive.

4- The objective of democracy is to implement the universal intentions of the law, based essentially ***Ibtida'*** on the public welfare called "public reason" which are five: Life ***Nafs*** against death, disease, hunger, drought and all threats for survival; Reason ***'Aql*** against ignorance, fanaticism, dogmatism, unilateralism and imitation; Universal norms called Truth ***Din*** which means the ***consensus*** of mankind on major norms of behavior and a universal

code of ethics against relativism, skepticism, agnosticism and nihilism; Honor *'Ird* and human dignity against humiliation and violations of human rights; and finally public wealth *Mal* against waste, usurpation, exploitation and monopoly. These are the major intentions of Islamic law which has to be understood, since the law is the outcome of human understanding ***Afham***, then assimilated since the law has to be called for, not imposed ***Imtithal***, and finally realized by human action ***Taklif*** as a personal self-commitment. The authentic religious life is the compatibility between the universal intentions of the law and the particular intentions of the believer. Revelation would become the ideal structure of the world. In contemporary words, these five intentions of revelation are a real and genuine combination of universal declaration of human rights in the West in 1948 and universal declaration of peoples rights formulated in Algiers 1977.

The question is who is setting the agenda? Democracy, globalization, end of history, clash of civilizations, information revolution, new technologies of communication, the world as one village, governance, human rights, civil society, minorities, gender ...etc is a Western agenda. Decolonization, freedom, social justice, unity, self-reliant development, identity, mass-mobilization ...etc is another agenda. Conflict of agendas is a conflict of power. As far as the actual imbalance of power between center and periphery exists, between Cultural capital 'C' and cultures small 'c's, the future of democracy will be always a one-way track, from the center to the periphery, from the big 'C' to small 'c's, a monolithic model based on unilateralism which is a negation of the honor of the very basis of Western culture, namely pluralism. It would be taken as another practice and a new evidence of the double standard, the stumbling block in Western culture.



Islam, Terrorism and Jihad

A Synopsis

1- Linking Islam to terrorism and Jihad is a misconception based on a resent-stereotyped image in western mass media in the last there decades in the post-colonial era after the failure in transforming the revolution stemming from national liberation movements to a state, since the nation-state became more oppressive inside and more dependant outside. This link is purely accidental not essential. It is historical not substantial.

2- Classical Islam is linked to reason, nature science humanism, communitarianism and progress of reason. Those are seen only as values of western English at the moment. Islam is a religion. Reason is the base of scripture, a pre-requisite of individual responsibility and accountability. Islam is also a religion of nature, of primitive innocence, free from original sin, salvation and redemption. Given the identity of reason and nature, metrical and physical science emerged. Since man is the vice-gerant of God on earth every thing has been created for him. Being with others, the individual and the community are two poles of the same human reality. Since Islam is the last stage in the development of revelation of Abraham, the previous stages are parallel to different periods of progress, a long historical process.

(*) Sasakawa Foundation, Tokyo, January 2002.

3- Muslim societies suffered immensely from Western colonialism. They are still suffering from Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Albania, from Sionist occupation in Palestine from Soviet invasions of Chechnya, and American aggression on Afghanistan. They suffered also from internal oppression of authoritarian political regimes. Once the struggle is blocked inside it erupts outside. Volcanic explosions are the result of external and internal pressure, not a normal course of history.

4- There are two kinds of terrorism: individual terrorism and state terrorism. The first is limited, accidental and sporadic while the second is unlimited, substantial and pre-meditated. There is also a distinction between primary terrorism and secondary terrorism. The first is an oppressive violence while the second is a liberating violence. A distinction can also be drawn between invisible violence and visible violence. The first is that of mass media, stereotyped images, global systems, market economy, poverty, frustration, unemployment while the second is bombing and assassinating. The first is the cause while the second is the effect. Finally, there is a distinction between historical terrorism and present terrorism. The first has been practiced by Western colonial powers against the Muslim world, economic, political and cultural terrorism, while recent terrorism is only an existential redemption of the colonized peoples. The first is terrorism of the center, while the second is the terrorism of the periphery. The first is structural while the second is ephemeral.

5- Terrorism is also linked to religion and in particular to Islam while terrorism is also linked to Christians in Ireland, to Judaism in Palestine, to Hinduism in Kashmir and Srilanka. There is also racial terrorism in the Basque region, Corsica, Cyprus, Armenia practiced by many ethnic minorities seen as separatist movements.

6- Muslims are also subject to terrorism is Germany, France, Russia, Thailand, Burma, Vietnam, India, China, etc. The new Nazis terrorize Turks in Germany. The extreme right terrorizes

Muslims in Kashmir ...etc. Blaming the victim is another form of terrorism.

7- Terrorism is a double-standard judgment, only linked to Islam and the Muslim world, to Arabs and the Arab World, while all other forms of terrorism, religious, economic, political and cultural in other regimes of the would are not seen as terrorism. Terrorism in London, New York and Tokyo is not judged as terrorism.

8- ***Jihad*** is not an aggressive war but a defensive war called since Thomas of Aquinas "just war". As a norm, "No co-ercion in religion". Every human being has the right to believe or not to believe. A free dialogue between different believers or between believers and non-believers is possible. The argument of reason is stronger than the power of the sword. ***Jihad*** is only possible when an individual or a people is physically attacked and their lives is in danger. Life protection is the first intention in Islamic Law. ***Jihad*** is possible when peoples are dismissed out of their homes, displaced from their countries, persecuted and oppressed by the unjust ruler. ***Jihad*** is the last device after using prior peaceful devices such as advising, denouncing, admonishing, suing and presenting the case in court. Nowadays, Muslims practice ***Jihad*** in Palestine because Palestinians are dismissed out of their homes and their land is occupied by the Zionist-settling regime. Muslim in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosovo, Cheshire, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Mindanao are practicing ***Jihad*** because they were subject to the most horrible genocide by the Serbs, the Russians, the Hindus and the Americans.

9- ***Jihad*** is a historical force when it goes with the laws of history. In ancient times when both Persia and Rome were exhausting themselves in mutual destruction Islam emerged in Arabian peninsula as a third historical force to establish a new world order: equality of all peoples irrespective of religion, color ethnicity, social class and cast. The law of history and the balance of power in international relations supported Islam at that time. Nowadays, Muslims represent a potentiality, not a reality. America, Russia,

China, Japan, Europe are world economic and military powers. There is a world system represented legally by United Nations charter and International conventions.



Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society

A Reflective Islamic Approach

I- Endogeneity

Contemporary Muslims articulate a number of alternative conceptions of civil society. First, there are some who reject the idea of civil society as alien to Islam, a concept coming from the West: secular, anti-religious, and aiming at the Westernization of Muslim societies. This is the radical fundamentalist position. Second, there are some who affirm the concept of civil society as a universal concept and a global ideal irrespective of its Western origins. They accept it as a model, a norm of practice, and an ideal in life-style for individuals and societies. In this view, Islamic tradition becomes an archaic expression of by-gone values reflective of their own peculiar historical conditions. This is the other radical position, i.e., the secular, Westernized alternative. Third, there are some that argue for the possibility of developing the ingredients of classical Islam to reflect modern social needs. They argue that similarities can be maintained, and differences can be bridged through creative reinterpretation or ***ijtihad*** of the basic ethical sources of Islam. This final position is the reformist or modernist alternative.

(*) Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society, ed. by Simone Chambers and Will Kymlicka, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2002.

These three broadly defined alternative conceptions of civil society are not mere theoretical constructs. We can find each position reflected in the spectrum of Muslim political societies. For in practice, civil society is not one uniform type in the Muslim world. It varies from Lebanon to Afghanistan. In Lebanon today, civil society is reemerging after having been ripped apart by a decade of civil war. It exists because of the relatively equal power between society and state. Lebanon is unified in the public space by the general allegiance to the civil law, in spite of some balancing of power between different religious groups required by its multi-ethnic and multi-religious composition. Present still are some illiberal vestiges of the old Lebanon:

A- Marouni Christian head of state, a Sunni prime minister, a *Shi'i* house speaker. Nevertheless, the civil war minimized the weight of sectarianism and maximized the feeling of citizenship, which has been reinforced by the resistance to the Israeli occupation in the south.

On the other extreme, Afghanistan under the Taliban offered a strict application of Islamic law, especially in family law and the penal code, the two obsessions of religious conservatism. The same practice in a more sophisticated way exists in Saudi Arabia and Sudan under the banner of applying Islamic law (*shari'a*), using religion as a camouflage to patriarchal society and to military dictatorship. Human rights in this type of state are immensely violated and human rights organizations are even banned.

The third practice is a middle course which is more common in the rest of the Arab and Muslim world, in states such as Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman, where we find a balance between civil society and the dictates of medieval Islamic law. In the public sphere, the rules of civil society are maintained: citizenship, equality of all in front of the law, the constitution, freedom of expression, democracy, pluralism, etc.

In the private sphere, such as family law, the ***shari'a*** is maintained since the ***shari'a*** is one of the sources of civil law.

It is clear from the above list of states following the middle course that civil society in its fullest sense is still far from realized in most of the Muslim world. But the fact that democracy and respect for human rights are still the exception rather than the norm in the Muslim world does not reflect, in my view, the validity of either of the two extreme conceptions of civil society outlined above. Indeed, while the concept of civil society may be of Western origin, most of its key features may be found in Islamic ethical theory, and these features are slowly being realized in cultural contexts as different as the Moroccan and the Malaysian. Indeed, the development of the third approach to civil society - the reformist, modernist approach—is the only viable one for pluralistic Muslim societies, whether they are African, Asian, or European. An Islamic state is not one which advocates only the application of the penal code or the observance of external rituals, but the state which implements the spirit or intent of the law (***maqasid al-shari'a***). A state that pursues this spirit may not replicate all the institutions associated with Western civil society, but it will foster and protect much of the values that underlie it.

II- Ingredients

The concept of civil society is a Western concept, coined in the seventeenth century by the English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes as an alternative to Kingdom and Church. The human being is neither a subject of a king nor a believer in a church. He is a citizen of a state, where everybody is equal to everybody, where all citizens are governed by the same law embedded in the constitution. Hegel in his **Philosophy of Right** considered civil society a step towards the state. The original concept held more political rather than economic connotations: equal citizenship, social contract, equality in front of the law, a constitution, freedom and democracy. That

liberal concept of civil society was the foundation for liberal economics, and found expression in the rise of capitalism, free enterprise, and private property.

Civil society is not a panacea for the aged problem of balancing the powers of the state, the society, and the individual When it does exist, however, it provides a certain balance between the power of the ruler and the power of the people, between power from the top and power from the bottom, between the government and the opposition, which allows state and society to coexist without falling into the extremes of authoritarian rule or popular revolt.

Historically Islamic culture has shared this concern for limiting the power of political authorities by diffusing it among a number of formal and informal institutions. If civil society means a system of checks and balances which prevent a preponderance of power residing in either the state or societal institutions, then Islamic theory from the earliest period demonstrates similar concerns. However, indigenous concepts of civil society from within Islamic culture are more innocent concepts, value-free and without a hidden agenda. They are more consistent and less opposed than the ingredients of civil society projected from Western culture onto Islamic societies in a misguided attempt to replicate the Western model. The key Islamic ingredients for civil society require less oppositional tension among institutions because in Islam there are no kings or popes, no kingdoms and no churches. Instead, we can begin with the following salient concepts:

The first is the *Umma* which means a nation without boundaries, a community of believers. Islam views all human beings to be ontological members of the same family, the same ***Umma***. And today, even though humankind is fractured into different moral communities (***Umam***), Islam upholds the essential similarities that link all human beings with mutual obligations of respect and decent behavior.

All Muslims everywhere are members of the Islamic ***Umma***. This ideal community is irrespective of geography. And yet Islam acknowledges that human identities are never monolithic, but varied

and sometimes cross-cutting. So even though Islam posits the moral primacy of membership in the single community of Muslim believers, it also accepts the reality of other societies and nations, sometimes existing within the Muslim ***Umma*** and at other times including non-Muslims as well.

One set of concepts refers to specifical religious groups apart from the Muslim community. The most important concept is that of ***ahl al-kitab*** or "people of the Book", namely Jews and Christians who share with Muslims the revelation of Abraham. The word ***ahl*** suggests a common family or parenthood. ***Milla*** (in Turkish, millet) is another term used generally to refer to non-Muslim religious groups or sects. This word suggests that Jews, Nazarenes, and Sabeans all form communities of believers different from and equal to Muslims. They are grouping for positive action and common cause.

Groups that do not necessarily connote a religious basis include ***qabila*** or tribe; ***ta'ifa***, which means an intimate group dedicated to a cause; and ***nas***, which could mean either a group of people or the whole human race. All refer to different sizes of human groups.

Related concepts refer to place or abode, such as ***madina*** a town or city; ***qariya*** or village; and ***wadi*** meaning a populated valley, or low-lying area. The important point about these terms is that they refer to inhabitants, not just to place.

Some categories refer to social classes, such as rich and poor, the deprived, and the homeless. Others relate to political categories, such as princes and other wielders of power; to religious authorities, such as priests and rabbis; to gender categories, such as male and female Finally, there are a number of concepts related to the core institution of the family, which establish the rights and duties connecting fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, parents, neighbors, friends.

The above list may read as an agglomeration of unrelated terms. In fact, the concepts and the groupings outlined above are intrinsically related to one another because they combine to form an

integrated whole which is Islam's conception of human society. Islam certainly puts primacy on the rights and obligations incumbent upon Muslims as members of the same religious community. But it does not renounce the possibility of the affiliation of Muslims to non-religious identities and groups, nor does it obviate the rights and obligations that emerge from such membership. A Muslim man for example may marry a woman from the ***ahl al-kitab***, thereby, becoming a member of a non-Muslim extended family, with all the attendant privileges and duties such an alliance entails. Similarly, a Muslim ruler who contracts with non-Muslim communities residing within the Islamic state incurs obligations toward these communities while retaining the prerogatives of sovereignty.

In short, Islamic theory and practice sustains a number of legitimate human groupings existing between the state and the individual. These groupings are endowed with their own sphere of autonomy, free from government intrusion, which made Islamic societies historically far less monolithic and undifferentiated than some Western stereotypes of a theocratic society allow.

Islamic theory also provides a number of institutions that serve to operationalize the concept of civil society. Classical theorists posited a tension between the wielder of power (variously termed the ***imam***, the ***khalifa***, or the ***sultan***) and the ***'ulama*** namely the intellectuals and legal scholars who were most familiar with the *shari'a*. The latter are the guarantors of the ***shari'a's*** proper interpretation. They are in theory independent from political authority, thus maintaining the system of checks and balances in society—similar to the role of the mass media in modern societies.

The judges are also independent from the political authority. They judge according to the law, which is just as binding on the ruler as it is a common person. The high judge, similar to the supreme court, is appointed by the ruler, but he cannot be removed by him. In case the ruler does not abide by the law, the high judge can lead a revolution against him.

Islamic theory provides for a number of other subsidiary institutions which bridge the executive power of the ***imam*** and the judicial authority of the ***'ulama***. One key concept is that of ***hisba*** which means the supervision of the application of the law in society, especially in the marketplace, against treachery, mishandling, monopoly, usury, exaggerated profits, etc. The person performing this function (***muhtasib***) served as the eye of the law on both state and society.

Furthermore, there is the ***diwan al-mazalim***, which served in ways analogous to both a small-claims court as well as a court of popular appeal. The ***mazalim*** court was a tribunal to which every Muslim could go and complain against any form of injustice done to him directly to the ruler or the ruler's agent. It allowed a direct appeal to the highest institutions of the state when the institutions of either the state or society failed to defend a common person's legal rights.

Awqaf or religious endowments similar to scientific, literary, and academic foundations for the development of art and science, are another key autonomous insitution in classical Islamic societies. Individuals could endow ***awqaf*** so that scholarships, schools, universities, publications were all supported by the institution without any government interference. Likewise, mystical orders (***the Sufi tariqas***) were able to recruit members and form religious autonomous societies that existed largely independent from state control and played extremely important mediating roles between families or tribes, and the state in which they lived.

All of these institutions played roles analogous to those of institutions today identified with civil society. Of course, the relative weight and independence of all these institutions varied according to time and location. What is important to emphasize is that Islamic theory contains within it the idea of an integrated politico-religious community, but with power dispersed among its constituent elements. As modern Muslim states began to emerge in the early

twentieth century, it is no surprise that one of the first targets of their secular, nationalist state-building enterprise was traditional Islamic institutions. The Egyptian state placed ***awqaf*** under the control of a government ministry at the beginning of the Egyptian revolution. It is directed now towards doing business and making profit. Similarly, *the* ***Sufi tariqas*** were among the first social institutions to be affected (and dissolved) when Mustafa Kemal Ataturk began his nationalist project in Turkey. And yet despite all attempts to coopt or crush them, ***Sufi*** orders remain a very important autonomous force in such Muslim societies as Morocco, Sudan, Turkey, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia.

III- Society

The Islamic ideal of the ***Umma*** is grounded in the concept of unity. The unity of God (***tawhid***) reflects itself in the unity of the *Umma*. The unity of God is not a simple, closed dogma, or a reified abstraction, but a whole worldview that affects the individual, society, and history. The individual is one, which means that his powers and energies are one. His internal powers of cognition, feeling, and thinking are one. His thoughts should express what he feels, and what he feels can be rationally demonstrated. Hypocrisy is to think something without feeling it. Fear is to feel something without thinking on it.

Man's external powers of action are also one. His words should be related to his acts; what he says he should do, and what he does he should say. Incapacity is to say something without doing it. Automation is to do something without saying it. The unity between the inside world—feeling and thinking—with the external world—saying and doing—makes the human personality one, free of fear, double talk, double face, creating a free individual. To believe is to attest. To declare is to testify. This is the meaning and the significance of ***shahada***. The first pillar of Islam is the solemn declaration that there are no other gods expect the only God, Omniscient, Omnipresent, and Omnipotent.

All human beings are equal before this Universal Principal, equal in birth and death, equal in life and worth. There is no human genealogy stemming out of royal families, of caste systems, or of social classes. All human beings are the sons and daughters of Adam and Eve. Every human being has a body and a soul, a reason to distinguish good from evil, and a free will to choose the good, not the evil. They are all created from one soul.

Society is a unity of equal individuals. No distinction exists between human beings according to color, language, tribe, or state. All societies, peoples, tribes, classes ...etc. are equals. They all have the same rights and the same duties. The right to differ is a legal right. Diversity of language, social customs, and manners is part of people's rights. All ought to be treated according to the same international law without any double standard in practice. Peaceful coexistence between peoples is guaranteed by treaties of nonaggression and mutual respect. There is no elected people or chosen tribe or best ***Umma*** except through the good deed and ethical standards. Election is offered to all, to every individual, according to perfection acquired through ethical performance.

To realize this principle of equality in society, Islam enshrines the notion of the brotherhood of all believers. Given the natural differences among individuals in aptitudes and talents, which yield different incomes and generate social classes, brotherhood intervenes to bring back equality to its early stand. Those who have should give to those who have not. Those who have more give to those who have less. This is not the conventional idea of charity or altruism on the part of the rich toward the poor. In Islamic society, the poor have a vested right in the wealth of the rich, not only through ***zakat***. It is the tax on surplus wealth, which is another pillar of the faith, but also through other measures to be taken by the ruler, such as nationalization of public services and confiscation of exploitative, monopolized means of production. Public goods, such as water, salt, and mineral resources lying deep below the surface—including oil—

cannot be claimed as private property because they touch the lives of all members of society. Even so-called private property is only a deposit or a trust granted conditionally, because absolute ownership can be properly assigned only to the Creator. Property is granted to the individual to use, not to misuse; to invest, not to accumulate; to spend, not to withhold and hoard.

Faith in the unity of God and the unity of His Creation helps to unify Islamic societies, despite their great social, cultural, and economic diversity. While Islamic civil society is differentiated, and contains many organizations and subgroups, it forms a coherent society by virtue of a shared commitment to faith and brotherhood. One senses this unity immediately while traveling in Muslim countries, whether it is in Mauritania or Turkey or Malaysia. The universal ***Umma*** ideal may have little political significance today, but it is alive at the ethical and spiritual level, which unites individuals into a greater whole transcending their own often unrepresentative states. And it does have obvious importance within specific countries, where Islamic values of community pressure elites toward certain policies or even fuel popular resistance to corrupt regimes.

But what is the status of non-Muslim groups? Are they excluded from Islamic conceptions of civil society? On the contrary, Islam has a long tradition of recognizing and accommodating non-Muslim communities. Indeed, the tradition originates from the earliest period of Islam's existence as a coherent society in Medina. In this society, established by the prophet Muhammad, Jews and Christians were granted a status that placed them on equal terms with the Muslims. Every community was accorded autonomy in language, costumes, manners, laws, etc. within the larger community. The Islamic ***Umma*** is not composed exclusively of Muslims, but it is a confideral ***Umma*** composed of many communities bound together by a treaty of nonbelligerent and mutual respect. The millet system practiced by the Ottoman empire into the twentieth century was de

jure an Islamic system. This system acknowledged the right of each religious community to live within the confederated ***Umma*** and exercise self-rule in many areas of communal life, while preventing modern ethnic and religious cleansing.

Today, this concept of Jews and Christians as ***dhimmi*** has acquired in public opinion a derogatory meaning, that of second-class citizenship. However, the etymological sense of this term is moral commitment. ***Ahl al-dhimma*** means those with whom a moral commitment is made to protect and defend them against all forms of injustices and aggression, as an ally and a brother. In the old law, they had to pay an extra tax (***jizya***) in return for defense and protection since they were exempted from military service. They had their own courts, and they were judged according to their own law. They had their own customs and manners, their language and their cults. But as members of the larger Islamic society, they had their claims to the social welfare provided by the state. They were entitled like all other members of the community to all the rights and privileges of the citizens on an equal basis: education, work, public services, etc.

Unfortunately, this earlier Islamic tradition of religious tolerance and inclusiveness is now under threat. In modern times and within contemporary nation-states many false images of the old law have been circulated, images which view Jews and Christians as second-class citizens, living in isolation from the broader Muslim population, and yet subject to Islamic law, especially the penal code. This view is especially current in fundamentalist circles.

These false images need some clarification. The old law was conceived when religious identity was equated to political identity. Now national identity is taking over. All citizens of a nation are equal before the law by virtue of their citizenship and irrespective of their religious affiliations. In the past, Jews and Christians often preferred to take their own disputes to Muslim courts rather than their proper courts because Islamic law is an objective law based on

the idea of impartial justice. The actual civil code in much of the Muslim world today is based on secular, mainly European sources The exception to this generalization remains family law, but this area is also under revision to cope with modern circumstances. Jews, Christians, and Muslims are equal in front of the civil law and the constitution. The fact that many, otherwise secular states declare Islam to be the state religion, and that the head of state must be Muslim, does not mean any practical distinctions between ordinary Muslims and non-Muslims. In societies that are overwhelmingly Muslim in numerical terms, it is only natural that the population would want some acknowledgment of the role of Islamic values in their national life. Moreover, given the Muslim majority, it is likely that the head of state would be a Muslim. However, these positive expressions of Islamic values as under girding national politics should not negatively affect the equality of all citizens before the law and the right of all citizens to participate and contribute to national life. For Islamic values applied properly in politics promote not a communal culture favoring the Muslim population, but a pluralistic, national culture to which Muslims and non-Muslims belong.

In addition, the penal codes in Islam-which fundamentalists are so eager to impose upon Muslims and non-Muslims-ought to be applied only to Muslims. Jews and Christians are liable under their own laws. Indeed, the severest penalties of the Islamic penal code are rarely applied even to the Muslims The severity of some punishments is a motivation for the judge and for society as a whole to look for the causes of crimes in order to ameliorate them, to mitigate the chances for the crimes at their roots. The moral purport of Islamic punishments is not so much to punish the crime a posteriori but to prevent it a priori.

Thus, Islamic theory in its general outline does not view Jews, Christians, and others as necessarily or typically second-class citizens within Islamic societies. Indeed, non-Muslims are assured a

remarkable degree of communal autonomy aimed at preventing their independent identities and cultures from being overwhelmed by the Muslim majority in their communal life.

They are autonomous from state regulation so long as they acknowledge the sovereignty of the Islamic state and the predominance of Islamic law as the regulatory mechanism across communities. At the same time, they are essential components of the broader, what may be termed quasi-federal, "national" structures. In other words, the Islamic conception embraces a number of limited civil societies with the hope that each will promote the greater civil society of all.

The generally positive picture presented thus far must of course be tempered with some caveats. Certainly, there have been some Muslim scholars who have argued for inequality of treatment and there have been some Muslim rulers who oppressed non-Muslim minorities within their realms. In some countries of the Muslim world today, religion is used to legitimize a political regime which lacks democratic legitimation. Religion is here only as a cover for dictatorship. The sectarian clashes occurring in the Muslim world from time to time are not really due to sectarianism but to backward societies which suffer from marginalization of large numbers of people. The clashes are everywhere between poor and rich, between the state and the workers, between the government and the opposition, between the secularists and the fundamentalists Since the state lacks legitimacy, democratic institutions, and legal opposition parties, apparently sectarian clashes are in reality driven by the economic-political struggle to seize the state, or at least to show its vulnerability and to destabilize the oppressive regimes. These are most often political clashes between the disenfranchised and the elites, not religious clashes between the Muslim majority and non-Muslim minorities arising out of a desire to exclude or marginalize non-Muslims because of their faith.

There are numerous examples where Islamic conceptions of a peaceful, cooperative, pluralistic society are being realized. To cite

but one example, Coptic Christians in Egypt (about ten percent of the population) are equal citizens. They are very active in the political, social and economic life of the country. They have their own schools, communal institutions, and intellectual presence. They are ministers in the government, generals in the army, and they have occupied several ranks among the eminent leaders of the Egyptian national movement in recent history. The positive facts throughout Islamic history are much more numerous than the negative incidents.

IV- Values

Individual human beings cannot live alone. They are drawn naturally toward social solidarity. The importance of civil society derives from the need to balance the desires and needs of the individual with the will and needs of society. Where civil society is present, an individual is a body member, joined to other members to form an organic whole, as the medieval philosopher al-Farabi describes in his virtuous city.

In Islam, civil society protects the rights of its members by anchoring these rights in a conception of universally binding duties or obligations which resemble Western conceptions of natural law. Within an Islamic framework, the ultimate author of these laws is God, but there is a long tradition in Islamic philosophy which argues that natural law is an objective law that human reason can discern. The principal values promoted by this law foster civil society in turn. Each of these values exists in a cyclical relationship with civil society, reinforcing it and being reinforced by it.

The first value must be the protection of life against all threats bringing death. Life is an absolute value. Genocide, assassination, murder, and even capital punishment are against life as an absolute value. God gives life and God takes it. As the Qur'an says in affirmation of biblical scripture, whoever kills one person is as if he killed all mankind. But the commandment to preserve life -found in

all moral systems- contains both positive as well as negative implications. It is not enough simply to abstain from killing; one cannot stand by passively while thousands, sometimes millions die even though society has the means to save them. The struggle against hunger, drought, disease, malnutrition, and starvation, is a struggle for human survival and welfare. It is a struggle intimately connected with the struggle for responsive and effective government and a tolerant, responsive society

Reason is another absolute value, which translates into the right to know against withholding information for commercial monopoly and maximizing power. Ignorance and illiteracy are against the function of reason. Maleducation, misinformation through commercial or government propaganda, and blind imitation are all forms of anti-reason. Through reason, Man can prove that God exists, the world is created, and the soul is immortal. Reason is the very foundation of faith. Reason is not only deductive but also inductive. It deduces the causes of human behavior from the textual sources as it induces them from human actions. Reason is also the glue, which binds individuals into a whole. If reason is not the common standard between human beings in communicating and understanding, the will to power takes over. Might will be substituted for right. Islam opens all avenues toward the promotion of reason and blocks all paths toward anti-reason. Open scientific and spiritual inquiry is one of the hallmarks of classical Islamic civilization. The consumption of alcohol, on the other hand, is prohibited because drunkenness is against reason

The defense of human honor and dignity is another of the pillars of civil society. Human honor includes all the principles stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including freedom of speech, belief, and movement; the rights to privacy; and, the respect of the human body against violation and torture. Human dignity is not confined to the individual, but applies also to whole communities, requiring for its realization the right for

auto-determination and self-rule, the right for independence and respect.

Last comes the preservation of wealth against usurpation, pollution, or waste as the material basis for life. Wealth here does not mean only individual earnings, but national wealth as well, which must be safeguarded against corruption, profligate spending, negligence, and speculation. It has to be spent for development. Public servants including the ruler himself have, he has to set a high example of honesty and integrity.

Private property is one of the Western individualistic human rights which may be incompatible with the communitarian concept of human rights in Islam. It was included in the universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 because of opposition to the socialist regimes emerging after the Second World War and in the context of the cold war. Yet, it can be questioned whether it ought to be ranked among essential human rights. It is not put on the same level other rights as the right to live, to survive, to believe, to think, to express, to work, to move, to choose, and to self-rule. Accordingly, in Islamic ethics the right to private property is decidedly lower in importance than the duty to ensure social justice. Islam instituted for the distribution of wealth positive mechanisms, including a tax on surplus wealth *zakat* that is collected by the state. In addition, in case of misuse, monopolization, or exploitation, the political authority has the right to confiscate and to nationalize this private property to become a public one.

But the social justice aims of Islamic ethics are not confined to state action. Indeed, the state is merely an agent of Muslim society in the realization of distributive justice goals. It is the society which bears the obligation to promote these values within itself, even if the state does not or cannot do so. We see how this obligation is taken up by society in many Muslim countries today, where a myriad of nongovernmental organizations, such as mosques, *Sufi* orders, and

charitable organizations perform social welfare tasks in the name of Islam, while the state remains oblivious to its population's problems. This is where Islamic civil society is most active and most visible, though these manifestations of civil society receive scant attention among Western students.

All of the values are values shared-in varying degrees of emphasis-all cultures. This convergence alone permits us to generalize the concept of civil society (adjusted according to many confluents) and to avoid taking the Western concept as a yardstick according to which all other concepts stemming out of other cultures are judged. The only difference among cultures is in scope and practice. Many in the West suggest that reason, truth, and honor are relative concepts, changing from one society to another. If life and wealth are absolute values, they are applicable within the geographical borders of the West, not outside. While in Islam the objective values of "natural" law are absolute and universal. They do not change from one society to another, to be applied in one area not in another. These values, according to the Islamic approach, are rooted in social consciousness, and implemented foremost by society. If these values are not upheld by civil society, then they can hardly be expected to be enforced by the state.

V- Responsibility

Many individuals and institutions are responsible for the good management of civil society and the promotion of its values: the individual, the family, the state, and non governmental institutions. They are inseparable given the importance and the commitment of all to the common cause.

The individual is responsible for himself as well as for others. He cannot shirk his social responsibilities because Islam enjoins upon all believers ordering the good and preventing the evil ***al-amr bil-ma'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar***. This is a simple and nice advice

"Religion is the advice." Some conditions attend to the fulfillment of this responsibility. The advice is dispensed when it may be best received. Thus, the person advising should consider the mood, the readiness, etc. of the person being admonished. The advice has to be in private not in public so that the advised should not be blamed publicly. No harm should result out of advising. It is better to accept a smaller harm before advising than to cause a bigger one later. Advising is not criticism from one individual to another but mutual action for a common cause. It is not a personal matter but a collective work, a reminder of the common good and public welfare.

The family has a large role in maintaining the rights and the duties of individuals in civil society. The family is a microcosm of the larger society, and thus a harmonious family serves a crucial educational function in preparing its members to participate in a harmonious and well-balanced society.

The state is not an oppressive institution but a guarantor of human rights and responsibilities. Political power is wielded by representatives freely chosen by the people, as suggested by the old expression ***ahl al-hal wa al-'aqd*** (literally, those who loosen and bind) namely, those who speak on behalf of the people. Political power is based on a contract between the ruler and the representatives of the people. The people must obey the chosen ruler as long as he is applying the law. If not, the first remedy is to admonish the errant ruler through public statements in mosques, schools, centers of learning, and even in the markets. If the ruler is still recalcitrant, disobeying the law, he has to be brought to court. If the high judge sentences him to obey the law and the ruler still disobeys, he becomes in contempt of the law and is no longer worthy of obedience. Now and then a revolt against him becomes the last resort and is directed by the ***ahl al-hal wa al-'aqd***. The unjust ruler cannot be obeyed.

Finally, nongovernmental organizations have an eminent role in assuming major responsibilities in the civil society. They are the

neighbors, the relatives, the friends and the comrades of work without institutional forms. Others are more institutional, such as workers and students' unions, bar associations, press corps, literary and academic societies, university clubs, religious associations for public services such as burial, wedding, health care, social security, tutorship, etc. They are quicker and more efficient than the state apparatus in dealing with national disasters such as earthquakes or floods. Mosques play extremely prominent social roles. They are not only houses of worship but community centers offering public services. Social annexes to the larger community mosques are more populated than the mosques themselves. Religion and society are intertwined. Helping the needy has more value than praying in the mosque.

VI- Freedoms and Risks

Civil society is not a panacea for all the problems of state and society. If civil society is present, functioning properly, it fosters a distribution of power in the polity and a balance among the constituent elements of society. That balance allows group autonomy while preserving a wide scope for individual freedom. Nevertheless, maintaining the balance is always a precarious enterprise, and within an Islamic framework the following risks are particularly relevant.

If the state is strong and the power of the ruler becomes absolute, the whole system risks sliding towards theocracy because theoretically the purpose of the state is to apply divine law. The ruler, in order to consolidate his power, gain legitimacy, and tame the opposition, pretends that he is the representative of God on earth, the follower of the Prophet, the guarantor of the application of the law, the right interpreter of religion, and the guardian of public morality and public welfare. He is the custodian of law and order. Any opposition to his power is tantamount to a revolt against God. In this perverted approach, God chooses the ruler, not the people. He nominates him, not the community. Carried to extremes, this ruler sometimes claims that he is even mentioned in the religious text, if

not by name, then at least by description, if not explicitly then at least implicitly.

Many examples of this theocratic authoritarianism exist in Islamic history. In this case, there is no difference between *Sunnis* and *Shi'is*. Even now many regimes are based on religion as a legitimizing device, such as Morocco and Saudi Arabia. The rulers in these countries are considered to be following the model of the Prophet, or even to be descended from the Prophet's family. Any protest against them is treated as a violation of the ***shari'a***.

Of course, the balance may tilt the other way, toward the strengthening of societal elements in the face of the loss of state power. This risk is particularly relevant to the Islamic case because of the strongly communitarian bent of Islamic social ethics. An individual's freedom and welfare may be just as jeopardized—perhaps even more so—by a society or smaller social groups convinced of their divine mission as it is by a state with similar ideological convictions.

One subset of Muslim society has historically been particularly vulnerable to overbearing societal pressures, i.e., women. Islamic family law is frequently mentioned as violating some values in modern civil society through its sanctioning of polygamy, and discrimination against women in divorce, inheritance, witnessing, leadership, etc. All of these legal limitations can be seen in their historical perspective. The purpose of Islamic laws relating specifically to women was to change gradually the gender situation in Arabia without setback, with the maximum of success and the minimum of loss. Before Islam, polygamy was unlimited, not to mention the taking of concubines and captives of war. In order to abolish this custom, Islam made it limited to four wives in exceptional cases, paving the way to monogamy, which conforms to human nature, physically and emotionally. The exceptional cases are sterility or some other physical handicap, or when the number of females exceeds the number of males, as in the post-war times.

Moreover, many restrictions have been put in the old law, such as separate apartments for each wife, the requirement of the first wife's permission, financial capacity, etc. All of these restrictions promote monogamy as the Islamic ideal.

Before Islam, women did not have the right of inheritance from their parent's property. On the contrary, women were inherited. Islam gave her a half-share in order to change the status quo in a society where a female baby was buried alive for fear of shame. The share must be seen in the context of the shareholder's position, namely as a member of a family. When the woman marries with a half-share to a husband with a full-share, the outcome is one-and-a-half shares in the new family. These minimum share requirements notwithstanding, during their lives either parent can distribute their wealth equally between their children regardless of gender, as many pious Muslims do.

Before Islam, women had no legal status. They were not recognized as an autonomous character. They could not buy and sell, witness, or participate in the political process. Islam made her half-witness for the same reason as in inheritance, to change her status gradually. In practice, the testimony of an educated woman was preferred to than of an uneducated man. Women cannot be the head of state in the old law, since the head of the state is also the head of the army, which requires fatigue and hard work unsuitable for pregnant women. Veiling is an old custom in certain parts of Arabia. A simple head cover protects male and female alike from the heat of the desert. All limitations on women in Islam can be so conceived, in their historical perspective as a gradual social change to be followed by other steps since history does not stop.

Indeed, many Muslim states have realized that the dictates of the early Islamic law must be revised in light of the changed conditions and needs of twentieth-century Muslim societies. Family law has been the last area of the *shari'a* to be enforced, and wherever reform has been attempted, it has always been met with

great controversy. Nevertheless, serious legal changes have been implemented in most Muslim countries which dramatically broaden women's rights and pushed women towards greater equality with men.

But it is one thing for the state to legislate women's rights and another thing for women to realize these rights. As numerous human rights organizations have documented, Muslim women lag significantly behind Muslim men in many states in key indicators of material and emotional wellbeing, such as infant mortality, literacy, life expectancy, age at marriage, and jobs. The problem stems often from government indifference towards enforcement of rights enshrined in constitutions and statutes. But an even greater obstacle is societal resistance to change in an area that so many view as an essential aspect of their tradition and faith. Women's status for many traditional Muslims falls into that broad area of privacy which their understanding of Islam throws around the family. Within the confines of the family, the state may not intrude. And for most Muslim societies that are heavily rooted in patriarchy, even those rights that the medieval law guarantees to women are frequently flouted in the name of social mores and tradition. In this area, the protected, private space occupied by the family, which all civil society rightly fosters, can become an oppressive well of custom and convention.

VII- Conclusion: Reflections on the Prospects for Islamic Civil Society

There are some risks to civil society stemming from Muslim societies that are related not to Islamic conceptions of civil society per se, but to the historical moment Muslim societies are living nowadays, a moment which can be characterized as conservatism dominating the Muslim world for over a millennium. Muslim societies in the first four centuries were pluralistic societies with many philosophical, theological, mystical, and legal trends. No single school of thought equated itself with Islam. In the fifth Islamic century, the great thinker al-Ghazali launched a conservative

revolution that stifled this pluralism and transformed Islamic culture and society according to an absolute and state-enforced doctrine, i.e., ***Ash'arism*** in theology and ***Shafi'ism*** in law. All other schools of thought were marginalized, criticized, or anathematized.

Over the last century reformers have tried to revitalize Islamic pluralism again. These efforts have been threatened over the past fifty years or so as secular military revolutions erupted or new traditional kingdoms were institutionalized. Conservatism and unilateralism generated dogmatism and fanaticism spreading in the mass media and in the educational system from the smallest schools up to the university campuses. Muslim societies, which the reformers in the last century wanted to liberalize, and which the military regimes in this century wanted to revolutionize, persisted in their traditional culture. Both efforts failed because the reformers had Western enlightenment as a model, which tended toward Westernization and thus alienation of the masses from the elites. The military on the other hand were interested merely in the infrastructure, not in the superstructure.

The failure of both modernist Islam and secular nationalism has in recent decades fallen into the hands of the fundamentalists. "Authentic" Islam according to these groups is equated with traditional conservatism, and this narrow interpretation is used as a whip against all liberals who continue the work of the reformers of the last century. Since Islamic movements were not legalized as legitimate elements of civil society and indeed have been suppressed by states, they tried to control the mass media, labor unions, professional associations, and to infiltrate other NGOs.

Elements that are not allowed to compete for popular support within civil society will inevitably become as averse to the values of civil society as those who suppress them. It is hardly surprising therefore that fundamentalist groups employ the traditional accusation of anathema, false innovation, and heresy against artists, thinkers, writers, professors - all methods to obstruct any alternative

interpretation of Islam of ***hisba***. They wage their battles in the mass media to sway public opinion. Sometimes, they go to court to sue their opponents in the name of ***hisba***, that is, in the name of the "public good." Sometimes, conservative judges rule for them and declare the thinker accused to be an apostate who should suffer penalties including divorce from his wife because a Muslim woman cannot be legally married to an apostate. Such a verdict actually occurred in the famous case of Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid, a professor of literature at Cairo University because of his studies in the Qur'an and Islamic law.

But acts of intimidation often do not stop with media campaigns or lawsuits. Zealous and ignorant followers of these conservative groups are willing even to murder the declared apostates or "enemies" of Islam, as they did successfully in the case of the journalist Faraj Fouda or unsuccessfully in the case of the Nobel laureate Naguib Mahfouz.

The zealots' call for an Islamic state means essentially the application of the penal code and the replacement of secular elites with religious men like themselves. Once this occurs, religion and politics will be united, they claim. Indeed, in Islam religion is a political system, an economic theory, and a social structure. But this does not mean the imposition of any one's interpretation of Islam on society by the state. It means only that Islamic values cannot be divorced from the business of the state, and the foremost values are the free election of the political power, the defense of common interests and public welfare, the maintenance of a social order exempt from huge differences between classes.

The struggle between fundamentalism and secularism to the point of civil war as in Algeria would completely destroy civil society. In both cases, whether religious groups take power or the secular state survives, human freedom is violated. The oppression is the same, in the name of the army or in the name of Islamic opposition. The major risk for the future is that Muslim societies will be offered only the fundamentalist/secularist alternatives. Unless

Muslim advocates of a middle course resume the serious task of developing and implementing pluralistic and representative conceptions of state and society from within the Islamic tradition, Islam will offer no alternative conception of civil society.

Such an alternative is possible. In constructing this alternative Islam can learn from the West, and the West can learn from Islam. Traditional Islamic culture may be based on the idea of duties rather than on the idea of rights (duties of man and rights of God) while modern Western culture is essentially based on the idea of rights rather than duties (rights of man and maybe duties of God). In both cultures, there is a certain imbalance between rights and duties. Muslim societies may have duties without rights while Western societies may have rights without responsibilities. Islam needs a universal declaration of human rights beside the traditional Islamic declaration of human duties. The West needs also a universal declaration of human duties to complete the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Pessimism on the short run leads to optimism on the long run. Islamic culture is still strongly bound to conservatism inherited over a millennium. Reformism is a recent phenomenon! It dates back to the last century. Modernism may have a better chance in the future, as Muslim consciousness achieves a more equal historical presence of both traditionalism and modernism so that a healthy dialogue between the two major schools results. In this progress, Muslim intellectuals and modernist scholars practicing ***ijtihad*** must take the lead by creatively linking ageless concepts of a just and virtuous society with modern ideals of civil society. The Islamic aphorism says, "the scholars are the heirs of the prophets".

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Confronting Common Challenges in Today's Environment

1- The honor of Thinking is not to meditate in thinking ***per-se*** like in pure mathematics, nor in counting facts and numerating events. Thinking is a self-commitment of the thinker. Formalism is void of content, quality without quantity, form without matter. Experimentalism is without significance, matter without form, facts free of values, the world without its soul. The thinker is in the world, confronting its challenges. Thinking is committing, meditating is positing. The world is not silent or stagnant but an utterance, an αλετια in Heidegger's term, an intention towards the thinker countered by another intention from the thinker towards the world. This double way from the object to the subject and from the subject to the object on the level of knowing, is also called Intentionality on the level of being, namely behaving. The thinker is a phenomenologist by nature perceiving the world as a living experience and acting in it as a field of action.

The phenomenological analysis is capable of describing the linkage between civilizations and harmony from one side, and political dimension on the other side. Therefore, environment does

(*) OIC. EU Joit Forum Meeting: civilization and harmony, the political dimension, Istanbul, 12-13 February 2002.

not mean only natural environment as understood by the Greeks and environmentalists, the one to be protected against pollution, desertification ...etc. It means also human and social environment, called in French ***Millieu*** and in German ***Umwelt***.

2- There are seven common challenges the world is confronting today. The first is what has been labeled as clash of civilizations, Huntington's famous thesis. spelling out what has been always spelled in, making explicit what was previously implicit. Clash of civilizations has always been practiced parallel to colonialism in the name of acculturation, erasing the indigenous cultures of the colonized in the benefit of the western one, that of the colonizer. Languages and cultures of the Western Hemisphere became "Indian Reservations" for Hollywood in the benefit of English in the north, Spanish in the center and south, and Portuguese in the south. Africa is split between Francophone and Anglophone. India is speaking English, the language of the sub-continent unity. The Philippines are speaking Spanish. In Algeria the slogan during the colonial period was ***L'Algérie Française***. Paris was the Metropole and France and Africa was the ***Communaute***.

England and its colonies formed the "commonwealth". Subduing cultures was a permanent guarantee to subdue peoples. The cover up was modernization which was equal to westernization, Europeanization and now to Americanization. Clash of civilizations is used now as a cover up to hide a new form of economic, political and cultural hegemony since the periphery is still linked to its tradition, and eager to struggle against the hegemony of the center as a continuation of the decolonization process, let it be clash of civilizations, Islam and Confucianism against Judeo-Christian tradition. In reality the intention is to defend globalization and to hide the economic domination by clash of civilizations.

3- The second challenge is the one-polar system called Globalization after the collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and in former Soviet Union. It is an unhealthy phenomenon

given the absence of competition and of another alternative for a real choice. A one polar system is a sort of a unilateral oppression. Capitalism is the end of history.

In spite of depression and the economic crisis, capitalism is the peak of development, the accomplishment of prophecy and the end of time without resurrection. Each economic system has to cope with capitalism. Globalization is a cover-up of capitalism. The world is seen as one village not based on mutual and regional co-operation, or humanitarianism fighting decease, drought, hunger, desertification, ignorance, and an alphabetization ...etc. Globalization is the consolidation of the power of the center and the dismantlement of the periphery. It is not a one way direction, the unity of the center, but a two way direction, the fragmentation of the periphery. Each nation has to relinquish its national sovereignty, open its borders, lift customs, sign GATT agreement, accept competition, open its markets for import, accept the multinationals and accept the results of the information revolution including global value-systems : consumption, profit, modernity, western life-style including double-standard norms, one for the over-developed and another for the underdeveloped.

Since the periphery cannot compete with the center and there is no other bloc which can support the periphery against the monopoly of the center like the previous socialist bloc headed by the former soviet union, violence erupts: demonstrations within the center in Seattle, Prague, Paris, London, Davos and Geneva and violent attacks from the periphery against the symbols of power in the center: World trade center, the Pentagon, the White House. Symbolic violence means the revolt of the self against the other, the affirmation of identity against alienation, the explosion of inferiority-complex against superiority-complex.

4- The third challenge is power without justice, economic power based on market economy and profit with huge disparity between rich and poor, political power based on military-industrial complex and the use of UN system to legitimize a military

intervention, as the case of Yugoslavia, or over and above the UN mandate like the invasion of Afghanistan.

In the Arab and Muslim World there is a huge sense of injustice and frustration ***vis à vis*** the Palestinian people, whish is another example of power without justice. The Zionist state is using the most horrible aggression against the Palestinian people, destroying houses and fields, killing women and children, physical liquidation of Palestinian activists, denying the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people for self determination, refusing the application of UN resolutions requiring the withdrawal from the occupied territories and even rejecting the implementation of Madrid accords and Oslo agreements based on land for peace. The double-standard judgments are manifestations of power without justice. The Palestinian resistance is labeled as terrorism while the Israeli aggression is self-defense. The Palestinian authority is not a partner in the peace process while the ruling rightwing is. Principles-trade is also observed, like the American consent on the Russian invasion of Chechnya in return of the Russian consent on the American invasion of Afghanistan.

5. The fourth challenge is violence called lately terrorism. War against terrorism was launched after September 11 events. In fact, these events are the result of something else, a conclusion not a premise, a reaction, not an action. The Zionist aggression on the Palestinian people is continuing also since September 29.2000 with the complete support of USA. The silence and incapacity of the Arab and Muslim World increased the sense of frustration. September 11.2001 is a reaction to the September 29.2000. In Durban USA refused even to apologize for kidnapping millions of Africans enslaved in the Western hemi-sphere to plant and to urbanize the land of the indigenous people after being massacred, a double crime against humanity. USA and Israel walked out because they refused to equate Zionism with racialism after all what Israel was and still doing in the occupied territories. September 11, 2001 is visible terrorism while September 29.2000 is the rejection of the invisible

terrorism. September 11 is individual terrorism while September 29 is against state terrorism, similar to the invasion of Afghanistan. That is why in classical Latin-American literature there is a distinction between oppressive violence as the one practiced by the state of Israel against the Palestinians and the liberating violence manifesting in the ***Intifada***.

Violence is only related to religious violence, and religious violence is attributed to Islam. ***Unita*** is practicing violence in Spain for an independent Basque State. In Ireland, Catholics against protestants is also religiously based. The war in Srilanka between the Tamils and the Hindus is also religiously motivated. The Sikhs in Punjab, the Hindus in Kashmir, Zionism in Palestine, American liquidation of Weco cult and Japanese arrest of ***Om*** sect all are religiously based. Islam only has been linked to terrorism, and Arabs to violence. ***Jihad*** is seen as an aggressive war, although it is only a self defense when an individual or a community is under attack. Islam is also linked to reason, nature, human rights, equality, progress and Urbanism once classical Islam is memorized calling the Andalusian symbiosis in Grenada, Seville, Cordoba and Toledo.

6. The fifth challenge is settling colonialism and occupation of territories. Palestine is the last spot of modern colonialism installed in the same year as the division of Palestine in 1948 and of Kashmir a year before according to the Same British rule. Ceupta and Melilia on the northern shore of Morocco are still occupied by Spain as a left-over of the medieval fall of Andalusia. Chechnya is still under Soviet occupation after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan followed by the American invasion. Occupation is a crime against humanity because it is the negation of peoples right to self-determination. It is a lelf-over of the European XIX century model going beyond the borders of Europe to Africa and Asia looking for raw materials, markets and cheap labor. Political Zionism found in religion a better ideological justification in a time pretending that Secularism is a universal value for all. Liberation war and national resistance

movements are one of the most honorific phenomenon in the XXth century. They were able in two decades to put an end to a colonial movement for more than two centuries. The American revolution against the British, Simon Bolivar resistance against Spanish Settlers in central America, the Vietnamese resistance against American aggression and the Algerian (struggle against French occupation are only precedents that history is the story of liberty and that the national struggle of the Palestinian people goes along with such historical law).

7. The sixth challenge is poverty not only inside states but also interstates, not only on the national level but also on the international level. Poverty on the national level is common in both developed and under developed countries. The discrepancy between riches and poor became wider. Unemployment increased. Foreign debts in the third world countries accumulated. The prices of major commodities were and still unproportional to local wages. Poor and oppressed are easily recruited to radical religious protest movements against the *status quo*. Salvation in the future generates simultaneously primitivism of golden age and the lost paradise and messianism of the utopian thought and the virtuous city.

On the international level there are rich nations and poor nations. A huge discrepancy between the lowest and the highest national income reaches 1 to 1000. The wealth of the center came partly from the raw material in the periphery. 5% of the world is consuming 75% of world production. The population and the brain drain from the south to the North and from the East to the West is a result of such imbalance in wealth world distribution.

8. The seventh challenge is not only human rights but also people's rights, the right for self-determination and self-rule. The Universal Declaration of human rights was declared in the West twice, as an outcome of the French revolution in 1789 and as a result of the Second World War in 1948. The declaration is based on an individualistic concept of right void of responsibility or duty. It is

applicable only within Western European geographical borders not outside where the most anti-human rights violations were practiced. Human rights violation files are used as a whip against any political regime disobedient to the big powers. The Universal Declaration of people's rights, the right of every people for self-determination, in Algiers 1971 is based on a communitarian and a Universal concept as a right of every people irrespective of its race, religion and color. Only now, independent not dependant states can live in an interdependent world.

Gender and Minority issues can be solved within global communities. In society the concept of citizenship is still obscure, the gender issue risqué splitting the nation to male-female dichotomy, one antagonizing the other, while both male and female are the victim of one common enemy, internal oppression and external domination. The concept of minority as well as the concept of democracy are quantitative not qualitative concepts. The first is based on ethnicity, the second on number. A pluralistic society in which the right to differ is a natural right is based on equality of rights and duties, not only for individuals but also for sub-groups within global citizenship.

9. The common challenges in today's environment may differ in perspective, depending on the human condition which differs from a region to another, from a continent to another, from a culture to another and may be from a historical phase to another. Peoples and cultures may live in the same chronological time but they do not live in the same historical and cultural time. Modern times feature only Western Europe not even the whole Europe and ***a fortiori*** America which has no history. From an American perspective the major challenge in today's environment is terrorism while in an Arab/Muslim perspective is the continuation of the decolonization processes and the right of the Palestinians, Kashmir's and Chechnya's for self-determination. From a Western perspective globalization is a necessary law of history and a must to cope with.

From a third world perspective a regional co-operation in an interdependent world preserves the periphery from being absorbed by the center. Common challenges are conditioned by the socio-cultural and historical condition of every community. The common is relatively common. The Global is the dominant local. The free world may be the oppressive world. Every human being in the depth of his heart is looking for a lesson of modesty, a Christ washing the feet of his disciples.



Ideologies of Development

Ideologies of development can be analyzed in actual developmental experiences in time and space with figures and diagrams, statistics and even models. An economist is more interested in facts, a political scientist more the political system and a sociologist the social setting. A phenomenologist is more interested in describing ideologies of development as living experiences, individual as well as collective, subjective and intersubjective. Phenomenology is more interested in the essence of development not in facts. The fact is the carrier of meaning, not the meaning. The meaning is in time, not in space. That requires a shift of attention from outward to inward. Reality can be discerned from within, the object from within the subject, on a deep and human level, not on the surface or the formal or material levels.

Secondary literature on the subject is abundant. Repetition is unavoidable in the case of a typical developmental study in economic and political science. Raw material has been analyzed many times over by professional development specialists, agreeing or disagreeing on numbers, figures and diagrams, how to obtain and how to read [1].

(*) Cairo papers in social science, vol. 20, monograph 2, The Middle East and development in a changing world, summer 1997, The American university in Cairo press, pp. 145-156.

(1) Some samples of secondary literature are:

- Abdel-Fadil, Mahmoud, Mahmoud Abdel-Hai Salah, Mitzue Osada. 1984. *The Transition of the Egyptian economy under the new open-door policy* (1973-83). Tokyo, Institute of Developing Economics.
- Amin, Galal. 1994. *The problem of Egyptian Economy*. Cairo, Arab Egypt for Distribution and Publication. (Arabic) =

Since ideologies of development in modern Egypt form a continuous historical process, references to specific development experiences are required. However, history of factual experiences and their fluctuations is a part of classical developmental studies carried on by economists, political scientists and sociologists. In phenomenology, historicity is a dimension of individual and collective consciousness, the lesson drawn from the accumulated experiences. Development after all is not simply economic growth but rather human and social development. The description of the historicity of the consciousness of development may reveal different types of development anchored in history and structured in individual and collective consciousness [(1)].

Modern Egypt began in the last century, with Mohammed Ali and the foundation of modern state in Egypt. However, for our analysis of ideologies of development it may be most useful to focus on contemporary Egypt in the middle of the 20[th] century, marked by the Egyptian revolution in 1952 and the periods just before and after.

Three major ideologies of development have been implemented in contemporary Egypt in three successive historical phases:

1- The liberal ideology (1923-52);

2- The socialist ideology (1952-74);

3- The capitalist ideology (1974-96).

= - Anouar, Ahmed. 1993. *Open-door policy and Value Change in Egypt*. Cairo, Arab Egypt for Distribution and Publication. (Arabic)
- Khadduri, Majid. 1970. *Political Trends in the Arab World, the Role of Ideas and Ideals in Politics*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Lenczowski, George (ed.). 1973. *Political Elites in the Middle East*. New York, American Enterprise Institute.
- Shimizu, Manabu, Iglal Rateb, Moustafa Ahmed Moustafa. 1984. *Public Sector in Egypt*. Tokyo, Institute of Developing Economics.
- Yasin, Sayed. (ed.) 1977. *Revolution and Social Change, Quarter of a Century after 23 July 1952*. Cairo, Al-Ahram. (Arabic)

(1) We have already studied the subject based on content analysis in three studies:
a- The genesis of a secular ideology (1952-78).
b- Religion and its implication for development.
c- Religious factor and income distribution, Islam in the modern world, 2nd volume, 1995, *Religion, Ideology and Development*, Cairo, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop. pp.54-266.

The term ideology indicates the two aspects in the ideologies of development, the theoretical and the practical, namely the application.

The Liberal Ideology (1923-52)

The liberal ideology stems from the three major trends in contemporary Arabic thought: religious reform founded by Al-Afghani, socio-political liberalism initiated by Al-Tahtawi and the secular scientific thought chosen by Shebly Shmayyel. The three trends had different points of departure: religion, the state and nature, but they had one converging point of arrival: constitutional monarchy, multiparty system, parliament education, freedom of the citizen and of trade. The model of such liberalism was Western enlightenment especially French enlightenment in the 18th century, Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau. In spite of Al-Afghani's refutation of the materialism of the enlightenment, he accepted its socio-political liberal ideal.

Since agriculture was the main sector for national income, irrigation projects were implemented to supply fields with water throughout the year, not only during the flood season. The leading example was the Aswan Dam in its successive elevations. Other canals in the Delta parallel to the two branches of the Nile as well as along the banks of the Nile in the south were also dug. Development meant here simply the increase of agricultural production.

There was some minimal industrialization in fields such as textiles, sugar and oil. The industries were developed by big landlords. In doing so, they had the benefit of extensive tax abatement, an arrangement readily available to them since they were also the major political power irrespective of the political party. Development here meant capital investments for increase of wealth. However, it should be recalled that Talaat Harb, the founder of national bank of Egypt, tried to build national industries to minimize importation and to free the national economy from foreign

domination. The state acted on behalf of the landlords as an agent of development.

The landlords also practiced free trade, although through the state, since the state determines the agricultural cycle. The major trade was the export of cotton to England. Imports were minimal, given the relatively small size of population (around 20 millions). Liberalism was practiced essentially as a political process more than an economic system.

Public services were well maintained. There was free education at elementary level, and free health care in public hospitals. These services were evidence of the liberal concern for human rights. The national landlords wanted to offer these public services to legitimize their political power.

There was a high level of expertise, a reflection of the generally high level of education of the landlords and the widespread use of Western experts: French, British and Germans at the outset, Russians after 1952, and Americans after 1974. Urbanism in modern Egypt was based on the experience of foreign experts with cities such as Paris and London.

This liberal economy was backed by a strong liberal political system based on a multiparty system, a constitution, a free press, and a strong opposition. The national struggle for the complete independence of Egypt from British occupation of the Suez Canal and the presence of British troops in Tal El-Kebir gave an absolute priority to political struggle on economic development.

However, the liberal ideology was the choice of the elite, the feudalists and the landlords. It was a part of Western capitalist system, and most of the landlords were educated in the West. They adopted pro-Western policies in spite of their national struggle against British occupation. It was only after the revolution of 1919 that Talaat Harb switched from Western capitalism to a national capitalism maintained by the nation state.

Economic and political corruption of the landlords was visible in the political process, falsifying the elections, giving priority to partisanship over the national interest, political elimination of the opposition, tax evasion, tolerance of the defeat in Palestine.

The King and the British violated the rules of the Democratic system. They supported the minority parties, dismissing the majority party and forming their own Palace parties. The royal family was a major supporter of the landlords.

The liberal ideology thus worked to the benefit of the landlords. The accumulation of wealth was dominated by less than 0.5 percent of the population, while almost 15 millions peasants were landless, mere laborers. Egyptian wealth was transferred to foreign banks.

A struggle against Muslim Brothers occurred, leading to the assassination of both Prime Minister Nokrashi and the leader of the Muslim brothers, Hassan El-Banna, in 1949. Many members of the Muslim Brothers were jailed and tortured. That was the beginning of the formation of paramilitary secret organizations and the use of violence in the name of religion which is continuing till now.

The concept of development at that time meant only economic growth as implemented by landlords, the national central Bank and the state. Human and social development were still far in the future.

The Socialist Ideology (1952-1974)

Socialism has appeared in Arab literature since the last century, equated to Darwinism by Al-Afghani, to enlightenment according to Al-Tahtawi and to Fabianism in Shebly Shmayyel, Farah Anton and Salama Mousa's writings. It was linked to Marxism, which in turn was linked to atheism. Some writers in the first half of this century such as Abdallah Enan linked socialism to Islam. The same was done by Mustapha Al-Siba'i, the leader of the Muslim brothers in Syria in his "Socialism and Islam" and by Sayyed Kotb in his "Social Justice

in Islam" even before he became a leading intellectual member of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt.

Content analysis of Nasser's and of Sadat's early speeches shows primary emphasis of four broad ideas: social justice, equity, equal opportunities and the elimination of class distinctions (1952-1956). These ideals were later amplified and became the basis of three doctrines: Co-operative democratic socialism prominent in 1957-61, socialism as articulated during Nasser's life (1961-1970), and the democratic socialism of the early Sadat years (1971-1974). This last period involved denasserizaton as a step towards shifting from socialism to open-door capitalism.

The 1952 revolution did not introduce a well-formulated socialist ideology. One of the principles in the early formulation of the socialist ideology was to put an end to feudalism, capitalism and to imperialism. The socialist ideology was negatively conceived, putting an end to agricultural feudalism, industrial capitalism and to colonization as a supporting system. The agrarian reform, formulated over a period of just six weeks, put a ceiling on land ownership. The maximum permitted in 1952 was 200 feddans, and then 100 feddans, in July 1961.

From this principle there was a gradual formation of the socialist ideology. The American withdrawal from the construction of the High Dam in 1954 led Nasser to consider alternative sources of support. The idea of nationalizing the Suez Canal company came into mind especially after the withdrawal of the British troops from the area in that same year. The nationalization occurred in 1956, which led to the tri-partite aggression, which in turn led to the Egyptianization of all foreign companies in Egypt in 1957. Thus, the first ingredients of the public sector were formed. The Suez Canal was deepened twice to permit the passage of big oil tankers.

Suez Canal resources were at one time the largest source of foreign exchange, later sharing this role with foreign currency transfer from Egyptian workers abroad, then with oil and tourism.

The socialist laws decreed in 1961-1963 were in part a reaction to the dissolution of the union between Egypt and Syria of 1958-1961. The United Arab Republic, in other words Egypt, chose Arab socialism as the official ideology of the country. The second agrarian reform decreed lowering the ceiling of land property during this period. The intention was also to nationalize wholesale trade, the construction sector and exploitive national capitalism, as a reaction to the defeat of 1967, but Nasser died in 1970. He left behind a volatile developmental experience, hindered by the Sinai occupation.

At the heart of the public sector was industrialization, of heavy industry such as iron and steel and of light industry such as pharmacology and chemicals. Workers rights were established as a part of social development, including worker's representation on the administrative councils of the companies and their right to profit sharing. Customs were put on foreign imports to protect national industry. Taxes were increased up to 90 percent of individual income and a ceiling for individual incomes was set at 100,000 Egyptian pounds per year. People's control of the means of production was the aim of the formation of the public sector, as a leading device for development.

Food subsidies, especially for bread, were major socialist initiatives to help the poor and lower classes to meet their basic needs. Fixed prices for major commodities were a part of the socialist policies to prevent exploitation in the market.

Planning was adopted as one of the major tools for development, with a goal of doubling the national income every decade, and to satisfy the basic needs of the majority. Planning was based on a priority system taking into consideration the majority of the people.

Free education from primary school through university was granted to all citizens, male and female. Health care and pensions for the elders were also guaranteed.

However, the socialist ideology also encountered impediments both in theory and in practice. It had an experimental character fluctuating according to circumstances without a long-range vision or a clear-cut theory. That is why it weakened in the face of the following events.

State socialism was not very dissimilar in power structure from state capitalism. Planning was monopolized by the state, which was the sole agent of development. The institute of national planning was a state institute. A ministry for national planning was formed. Many justifications were given for this centralization of power such as the nature of Egypt as a hydraulic society, the historical residual, the charismatic leadership, the just Despot, the overwhelming role of the army. Mass mobilization was totally controlled by the state through the ruling party, making use of the open membership youth organization and the vanguard secret organization.

A new class was formed, made up of bureaucrats, army officers, and contractors, with many landlords forming a buffer zone between the political leadership and the masses. This class had all the features of the middle class in the bourgeois society--hypocrisy, opportunism, careerism. The coalition of people's working forces: workers, peasants, students, soldiers and non-exploitive national capitalism was the official concept. But the middle class dominated the actual social structure.

The quality of work performance was not high. Since the workers were state employees with permanent jobs, they had little motivations to strive for quality. They shared neither in the profits nor the ideological commitment.

The depoliticization of the masses was a continuing legacy of the 1952 revolution. The dissolution of all opposition parties including the Wafd and the Muslim Brothers, the most popular political organizations, cultivated mass political apathy. The negation of the political history of the period before 1952 made Egypt in effect a country without a history. The allocation of 50 percent of the

seats in the People's Assembly to workers and peasants remained a formality.

The constant struggle with Muslim Brothers in 1954 and 1965 and with the Marxist in 1958, and the torture of political prisoners killed the nervous system of the political life. No political organization formed after 1952 attracted genuine widespread popular support.

The Capitalist Ideology (1974-96)

As the socialist ideology was the outcome of the major political events after 1952, the capitalist ideology is a simple reaction against the so-called sins of the socialist experiment. It began by ousting the partisans of the previous regime on 15 May 1971, a presidential coup d'état called the rectification movement. The October war in 1973 gave further legitimation to the new regime, which began by a process of political denasserization and then proceeded to the economic denasserization in the form of the investment laws of 1974 and the open-door policy. After the riots of January 1977 by the Nasserists masses against price increases, a new alliance with Israel was formed after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November of the same year. Peace was linked to prosperity and prosperity to a market economy. A total shift from socialist to capitalist ideology began, from public to private sector, from planning to individual initiative, from production to consumption, and from the support of the Soviet Union to the dependence on USA.

Three subdivisions in this period can be observed. First the process of denasserization in 1971-73 began by using Nasser's terminology without its content and ended by economic and political denasserization, first against socialism, then against the Arab Socialist Union. Second the open-door policy was declared 1973-75 directly after October war. Third, democratic socialism 1975-82 was used as a label to serve as peace vehicle between Egypt and Israel through international socialism.

The open-door policy was applied in all economic sectors, with increasingly liberal policies in agriculture, industry, banks, oil, tourism, trade, duty free zones. Under the pretext of solving public sector problems, overcoming its obstacles, liberalizing its routine and minimizing its losses, the public sector began to be dismantled and transformed to private companies. Later on a distinction between open-door policy of consumption and open-door policy of production was made to encourage production.

The same capitalist ideology continued after Sadat's assassination in October 1981. The open-door policy needed economic reform. It encouraged foreign capital, reopened the stock market, sustained the rate of exchange in an open market, undertook joint ventures, constructed new cities, began reclaiming a new Delta in the Western desert by digging a new canal from Nasser's Lake to the Toshka depression and linking the four oasis together.

It also increased the development rate from 2 percent to 8 percent, installed the urban sewage system and water supply, and constructed housing. A relative margin of political liberalization was considered essential to bring about economic liberalism.

However, poverty increased for the low-income majority and wealth accumulated in the rich private business minority. Riots by the police cadets erupted in 1986, similar to those of January 1977. Some workers struck against privatization of factories and the risk of job insecurity.

Privatization took on an accelerated rhythm, accompanied by considerable suspicion about the real value of the state assets placed on the market. Some believed that they were priced too low, to unfairly favor the new national or foreign owners.

At the same time, the cost of living rose as a result of discrepancies between international prices and local salaries. Salaries increased much more slowly than prices.

Corruption became widespread, and there was considerable flight of capital abroad. Quick earnings through speculations on land and properties became a major source of wealth. Some private banks declared bankruptcy. Some investment companies were dishonest, and cheated poor investors, leading the state to intervene.

Dependency on the international market economy increased with the signing of the GATT agreement, as urged by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Private banks transferred more money out of Egypt than they brought in. Egyptian money abroad now is estimated to be about three times the national debts.

Conflict with Islamic groups did not disappear. Armed conflict became visible in some governorates in Upper Egypt, especially Sohag and Assiut, and in the city of Mallawi. Efforts to establish a dialogue and to achieve national reconciliation were rejected by the state, which accused the Islamists of extremism, terrorism, violence and fanaticism.

The few signs of liberalism in the press, especially the Nasserist and the Islamic press did not reduce the over-representation of the ruling party in the two houses of the national legislature. There were widespread allegations of electoral fraud.

A visible change has recently happened to bring Egypt back to its central role in the Arab world. The President refused to go to Washington for a summit meeting between heads of state Clinton, Netanyahu, Hussein and Arafat. In a Cairo economic summit, Egypt played a central role in maintaining direct inter-Arab cooperation. The Arab summit after Netanyahu came to power was the first since the second Gulf War. It agreed on minimum Arab demands concerning the peace process, linking normalization to the application of United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 based on land for peace agreements reiterated by the Madrid conference, on the implementation of the Oslo agreements and of the Cairo accords. Middle-Easternism and mediteranianism were cut short in favor of the permanent Pan-Arabism.

Conclusion.

Despite their apparent differences, the three ideologies of development, liberalism, socialism and capitalism share a common and permanent socio-political and cultural structure. The points in common are:

1- Mass culture did not change greatly. It maintained its historical conservatism that in turn is based on a monolithic, autocratic and authoritarian culture. Political discourse is essentially a mass-media discourse intended to brain wash the masses. It lacks basic credibility. The culture has changed from Islam and liberalism to Islam and socialism, then to Islam and capitalism, with changing views expressed by the same intellectuals and religious leaders. Islam is used as a legitimizing device for the political regime and its political and social opinions. Once the regime disappears, its discourse disappears as well. After three shifts, from liberalism, to socialism, to capitalism, the masses increasingly reject all secular ideologies of modernization. They hold to Islam as such, not as a legitimizing device for something else. This Islam per se became the fertile ground for Islamic fundamentalism.

2- Mass-mobilization associated with secular ideologies did not occur, as did the rise of fundamentalist groups using Islam as vehicle of protest. The middle class, which tried to play the role of an agent of development, was seen as opportunist, seeking political power and personal interest. The discourse is ideological but the practice is mundane.

The speech is liberal but practice includes the liquidation of the opposition. The speech is socialist but the practice is opulent in life style. The discourse is capitalist but the practice is stringent laws preventing any liberalization of the economy except through selling the public sector, violating state laws and corruption.

3- Democratization as a political process did not parallel liberalization as an economic process. The permanent crisis of the

political regime is a political one, autocracy; it does not arise from the social option, be it liberalism, socialism or capitalism. The crisis of democracy transcends development experiences. None of the ideologies depended on the masses or asked their participation. The three ideologies of development have been imposed from above. They did not emerge from below out of the inherited structure of the mass culture.

4- Since the three ideologies of development were from and for the upper class or the middle class, planning was never directed to the concerns of the poor majority of the people. Industrialization was directed towards consumerism by the middle class, in the form of the automobile industry, electronics and elegant food. Liberalism, socialism and capitalism are for the people of "above", not for the people of "below".

5- The most basic need of the people, bread, has not been satisfied. More than 70 percent of the wheat is still imported, sometimes in the form of a gift. It is used to bargain for political privileges for the donors, a black mail in exchange for national sovereignty. Meanwhile, the new reclaimed land in Sinai is used for fruit rather than for wheat. It is provoking that Yemen and India are now self-sufficient in food.

6- Development was not seen in the three experiences as a holistic human and social development. It was conceived in the liberal ideology as capital investment by the Pashas, with agricultural development for the landlords: dams and canals. Millions of peasants, who were three-quarters of the population, remained undeveloped. Development during the period of socialist ideology was made by the middle class and for it. Free education did not solve the problem of illiteracy, which is still around 60 percent of all adults. Development in the time of capitalist ideology is oriented to businessmen, to the private sector and to quick earnings equal to corruption. Parasitic housing encircles big cities including Cairo.

Population growth, some 1.2 million persons added each year, lowers the standard of living and prevents any real development.

7- Development has required foreign aid to supplement local savings. Foreign civil debts alone now reach to over 40 billion dollars. The economy has become more and more dependent on foreign investments. Self-reliant development is no where in sight. Military debts reach a similar amount. Egyptian capital smuggled abroad is estimated to be equal to Egypt's foreign debt, both civilian and military.

The stumbling block of the three ideologies of developments was not only their narrow scope, their pursuit of economic growth, increase of production, doubling the national income every decade, quinquenneal plans or even human and social development: education, health, pension for the elders–but their short range perception of history. The concept of development itself may be alien to the main stream in the mass-culture of Egyptian society. Development will require time, initiative, planning, and a human harmony with nature. The mass-culture till now remains preoccupied with eternity, divine intervention, destiny, the fragility of human life and the perishability of nature and the world. To the extent that mass culture remains anchored in this main stream, the prerequisites of development as a concept as well as a motivation are not fulfilled. Sustainable development requires a reconstruction of the mass culture to reduce the weight of the main stream and to increase the weight of the side streams favoring human initiative, freedom of the will, substantiality of nature, the survival of man on earth and teleology. This is development on the long run, taking into consideration the historical component of the social phenomenon. This is the work of generations in order to gain an accumulative experience of the prerequisites of development, instead of beginning each time from point zero.



Islam in Indonesia

A Geopolitical and Socio Cultural Analysis

(A Research Project)

I- Introduction

The purpose of the project is to help formulating a think tank in Indonesia and to give Indonesian scholars a forum to express the drama of their own country, helped by Muslim scholars from the Muslim world. Time span is five years. The major activity is research papers, window form, to facilitate the dissemination of the results, in English and Arabic, to form a new literature in Indonesia around national Islam. Weekly seminars can be held to discuss particular points of the project before and after the research, or working hypothesis and results. The members of the team are the young Indonesian scholars, post-doctoral teachers, in different Indonesian Universities and institutes in the fields of Islamic studies and human and social sciences. The ten-sub projects will be worked simultaneously. A workshop for each sub-group every month, and for the whole theme every three months, plus an annual conference, for reviewing the global results, the final publication comes out of collecting the window-papers in ten volumes, 2001-2005.

(*) Jl. Talang no.4, Jakarta, 4 June 2001.

II- Project Division.

1. National Character in Indonesia:
   a. Geo-politics of Indonesia.
   b. Ethnic Composite.
   c. Linguistic Diversity.
2. Islam and Indigenous Culture in Indonesia:
   a. Indonesian Culture before Islam.
   b. Islamic Expansion in Indonesia.
   c. The Interaction between Islam and local culture in Indonesia.
3. Features of Indonesian Islam:
   a. Ritualism (Traditionalism).
   b. Emotionalism (Discourse).
   c. Arabism (Language, History and Culture).
   d. Conversion to Islam (Pluralism).
   e. Egyptianism (Azhar, Reformism).
4. Islam and Social Crisis in Indonesia:
   a. Poverty.
   b. Unemployment.
   c. National Education.
5. Islam and Political setting In Indonesia:
   a. Decentralization, Pluralism.
   b. Freedom and Human rights.
   c. Equality between ethnicities.
   d. Political participation.
   e. Political Culture and Nation Building.

6. Islamic culture in Indonesia:
   a. Scriptural and rational sciences.
   b. Tradition and social sciences.
   c. Ancient cultural dialogue.
   d. Modern cultural dialogue.
7. Islamic Legal System in Indonesia:
   a. Application of the Islamic law.
   b. Shari'ah and local customs.
   c. Intentions of the law.
   d. The science of "legal norms".
8. Islam and National Dialogue:
   a. Conservatism and Reformism.
   b. Fundamentalism and Secularism.
   c. Islam and Other Religions.
   d. Religion and modernity.
9. Islam and Regional Co-operation:
   a. Indonesia - Malaysia.
   b. D-8 (Developing Countries).
   c. Group of 15.
   d. Bandung - Africa and Asia.
   e. Pan - Islamism.
10. Islam and International Relations:
   a. Indonesia and the Asian Tigers.
   b. Indonesia and Asia Vision.

c. Indonesia and the West.

d. Indonesia and the colonial legacy.



Development from Without, Development from Within

1- The development debate was the big debate in the Third World during the sixties, developmentalism or human and social development, economic growth or cultural development, development of natural resources, exogenous development or endogenous development, development from without or development from within. The debate is coming up again at the end of the UN cultural decennie 1990-2000 and in the year of dialogue of civilizations 2001, an old and a new debate for the future of world peace.

2- The heart of the debate is two fold. First, is it possible to initiate cultures of development without enhancing development of cultures? Is it possible to obtain economic growth without human, social and cultural development? Developmentalism was a mechanic and material concept of development, a left-over of the XIX century Darwinism including social Darwinism. Colonial powers were only interested in increasing the amount of raw material, to increase production, to increase consumption in order to produce paramount happiness. After decolonization and the sovereignty of independent nation-states on their natural resources, production decreased and happiness was not reached giving the value-crisis in the European consciousness called by Husserl Erlbnisverloss and by Scheler

(*) Berlin, 2002.

Umsturtz der Verten. In the Third World new middle classes emerged. Privatization inherited public sector. The discrepancy between rich and poor became bigger. The rate of employment increased. Sustainable development became dependant economics. Foreign debts increased. Self-reliant development became dependent on foreign aid, perhaps this is due to the absence of the concept of self reliance itself in the mass culture. The quarterly sector expanded. Corruption, tax evasions, the transfer of national capital abroad, pseudo-capital investments became daily news.

Once developmentalism was transferred in the Third World, economic growth was planned for the ruling elite and mass cultures stayed traditional as they were. Once economic decrease began traditionalism increased as a natural reaction. The material real failure generates a spiritual pseudo-success. Global development cannot be realized in a dichotomy between material growth and protracted mass-culture. Developmentalism cannot generate in a mechanic way cultural development. Industrialization on its own cannot automatically change traditional value-systems in agricultural societies. Cultural development is a preparatory step for economic development.

3- Second: Is there one model of cultures of development or diverse models. Given the huge Western modern times, Eurocentrism, the expansion of Europe outside its own geographic borders, the belief in the Universal Culture, a monolithic model emerged in the center to be imported to the periphery in the name of modernization. The colonized has to be developed according to the model of the colonizer. Modernization was equal to Westernization. The transfer of knowledge was a parallel model from those who know to those who know not. The slave is eager to imitate the master as Ibn Khaldoun observed. The West, proud of its pluralism as W. James wrote in his "Pluralistic Universe", practices it inside its geographic borders, whereas outside it imposes its own monolithic model on others, in a double standard norm and practice.

In return, conservatism increased and fundamentalism became the spirit of the time. Developmentalism was development from without, causing alienation and creating a huge process of returning to the self, and the affirmation of identity. It is imported from outside, not emerging from inside, administered by the bureaucrats without an immense mass-participation.

4- Since there are no cultures of development without development of cultures, and since development of cultures has diverse models, the question becomes: how globalization, clash of civilizations and global governance pose a threat to "Our creative diversity"? In globalization, the world is one village, one system, market economy based on competition and profit, information technology and one consumption culture. Globalization as a worldview and by structure is monolithic, centrifugal, centripetal against other worldviews and structures such as pluralism, diversity, regionalism, inter-dependence, co-operation and communitarianism. Globalization is by nature hegemonic, monolithic and oppressive.

Clash of civilizations prepares the ground for globalization. It spells out what the West has always practiced and denied. It mystifies the clash of interests by the clash of cultures, an appealing discourse in the Third World. Clash of civilizations is a simple cover-up for conflict of interests. In the West, interest is a substitute to culture while in the Third World culture is still alive. Tradition is still operative. Western model is based on discontinuity between the old and the new, while Third World model is based on continuity between tradition and modernism. The Asian model is a third one based on juxtaposition between the old and the new, one for private sphere, the other for public sphere.

Global governance is a substitute for nation-state and national sovereignty. The world has one government, the multinationals, market information technologies, while competition requires equal partnership on all levels. The imbalance of power between the center and the periphery, between the group of eight and the rest of the

world is in favor of the center and the over industrialized world. Globalization, governance and information are new forms of hegemony which prevent diversity of experiences and sharing knowledge.

5- If development of cultures is a prerequisite for diverse cultures of development so what are the conceptual pre-judgments and the institutional impediments for such multiple experiences? Supremacy, arrogance, pride, racialism are at the very source of monolithic models. Superiority-complex has been planted in the West due to the successive scientific and social triumphs of modern times. Reason systematizes the whole world. Man is the Master of nature. He is the measure of all things. Information is power. ***Pax Romana*** is still at the very heart of European consciousness. ***Pax Americana*** is a follow up. Progress is a material one in nature, not a moral one in the soul or on the mind. On the contrary, material progress is parallel to moral regression. The ideals of enlightenment were transferring from within their own limits and destruction as shown by Frankfurterschule.

Institutional improvements are World Bank, IMF, World Trade Center, GATT, multi-nationals, the laws of the market, Big Power use of the UN system ...etc. Their panaceas are imposed on Third World countries irrespective of their conditions: people's poverty, lack of basic needs, the necessity of food subsidies, free health care and education, fixed prices, state housings, customs on luxury commodities ...etc. In many countries, such panaceas generated mass uprisings (Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco). International funds are usually used as a pressure for political gains for the donors.

6- The reconstruction of traditional value-system in the Third World is the crux of development of cultures. Since cultures of development require certain base concepts such as Reason for planning, nature as field of action and Man's work as a tool, traditional cultures are still struggling for such concepts, switching from faith to reason, from text to reality, from scriptural sciences to

rational sciences, from imitation to creativity. Nature in traditional value-system is ephemeral, accidental and perishable, while cultures of development requires a more positive concept of nature, sustainable, substantial, essential and everlasting, worthy of being a work field. Man in traditional cultures is predestinated. His future is in the hereafter. His kingdom is not in this world, while cultures of development require a man with free will in order to choose and with free action in order to do. He is living in this world making it a better world for posterity for human survival and welfare.

7- At the same time, a new world view 'Weltanschauung' for European consciousness is a necessary step for an equal dialogue of civilizations based on sharing the same experiences of cultures of development and development of cultures. We are living in a multiple world, in diverse cultures and in different periods of history. There is no universal norm for development. Every culture has its own model. Imposing one model of a Culture with a capital C on other cultures with small cs is against sharing experiences and dialogue of civilizations. In order to start a healthy dialogue between two equal partners, Western arrogance has to yield to modesty, monolithism to pluralism, materialism to moralism, individualism to communitarianism. European consciousness is not only a subject but also an object and the Third World consciousness is not only an object but also a subject. The West is not the sole producer of epistemological project which began with Cogito Ergo Sum and Novum Organon. China, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Canaan were also carriers of knowledge and civilizations, theory and action. The conspiracy of silence on the roots of Western civilization contributed to the formation of the myth of the Universal Culture, the Greek miracle. Peace on Earth cannot be realized without Justice in the Soul.



Habermas and the School of Frankfurt

1- Origins and Contributors

The School of Frankfurt began around the creation of the institute for social research at the University of Frankfurt in 1923, accompanied by founding of the Social Research Review. This was an initiative of Max Horkheimer (1895-1973), Theodore W. Adorno (1903-1969), and Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), followed by Jurgen Habermas, (b. 1929).

All worked as a team. Horkheimer takes positions and his colleagues implement them across disciplines in order to develop a general system for the social sciences: Pollock in political economy, Fromm in psychoanalysis, Lowenthal in literary criticism, Marcuse in philosophy, Adorno in music and sociology, also Wittvogel, Grcssman, Newmann, and Walter Benjamin. The school engaged in a dialogue with other thinkers and sociologists on the methodology of social science such as M. Buber and Albeit on anthropological philosophy, Gadamer and Gehlen on philosophical hermeneutics, and Luhmann on systems theory. As the last of these great thinkers, Habermas was able to review these efforts and surpass them, and because of his historical consciousness, he was rightly considered the last Hegelian.

(*) AUC, Cairo, Spring 1998.

2- Accomplishments

The School made a whole review of the development and structure of Western consciousness, returning back to its origins, sharing the critique of idealism with the young left-Hegelians. The School switched from critical philosophy to critical theory, broadening the application of theory from philosophy to sociology, including a critique of Rousseau. It linked itself to neo-Kantianism and sociology, especially Max Weber. The word "critique" from the same root as crisis indicates the orientation of the School as a critique of the Times, expressed by Habermas in "Legitimation Crisis". For Habermas the role of reason is to criticize not to bind, to liberate not to control, a method not a system. Critique is not only a Kantian concept introducing the possibility of knowledge, but also embodies a structural change in worldview and theory, as exemplified by the Copernican Revolution in astronomy, with its wider impacts on thinking. That is why the School is linked to the era of structuralism, looking for the structural changes in Western Consciousness, and making a new reconstruction on the level of individual and collective experiences, not on the level of impersonal abstraction.

3- Place Among Intellectual currents

The School represents one of the currents of the new Left in Europe. It reinterprets classical Darwinism, Marxism and historical materialism, returning to the Hegelian origins of the Young Marx, and thereby contributing to major trends in XXth Century Marxism, in response to XIXth Century Marxism and Positivism. The School paved the way for many of the XXth Century Marxist thinkers such as Gramsci, Lukas, Garaudy, Deutscher, and Korsch. With Althusser the School rediscovered the early Marx as a structuralist, criticizing classical political economy, and as a humanist, founding social theory and linking logos to praxis in an analysis of manual labor. Rosa Luxembourg also showed the structural foundation of Capitalism in the colonial military expansion. Hilverding also reconstructed the Asian mode of production in more general terms.

Kautsky did the same in describing the change in agricultural structure in Europe and America. All Xxth Century Marxists tried to switch from infrastructural to superstructural analysis by criticizing instrumental reason, showing the importance of Freud's psychoanalysis and of political analysis based on hermeneutics.

4- Concept Development

The School used the term "Dialectic" to rediscover Hegel as a political and social thinker. Adorno criticized contemporary ontology in existential philosophy, especially Heidegger and his jargon on authenticity. Marcuse did the same in transforming Hegelian logic to a social theory, switching from Reason to Revolution. Existentialism was limited, as an individualistic philosophy, in spite of Sartre's effort to link Existentialism to Marxism and individualism to collectivism. In his "Critique of Dialectical Reason" Adorno portrayed Western enlightenment as coming to an end in a Western Consciousness caught between hope and despair, self-confidence and fear, reason and folly, freedom and oppression, life and death, certainty and conjecture, truth and falsehood. Adorno predicted the collapse of the West on the basis of his analysis of modern music, e.g. Shonberg and Stravinsky. Habermas in his "Philosophical Discourse on Modernity" considered Hegel the founder of the concept of modernity, with Nietzsche as the founder of post modernity. Horkheimer and Adorno advanced the post-modernist movement by their critique of Enlightenment. Heidegger is also a step in this direction, through his critique of Western rationalist and dualist metaphysics. Derrida brings this critique to its peak by his critique of logocentrism and phonocentrism.

5- Habermas on Language

The analysis of language and its implication in communication and politics was made by Habermas. He analyzed the language of communication, imperative language, and protocol statements as the positivist Austin did, making a distinction between a communicational

act to understand and an instrumental act to dominate. He described intersubjective experiences as phenomenologists do for social interaction. He also dealt with hermeneutics, stressing once more the distinction between explaining and understanding. He entered a debate with Heidegger, Gadamer, Abel, Luhmann, and even with contemporary theologians and biblical critics such as Bultmann, Ebeling, and Pappenberg, to show the relation between the interpreter as subject and the text as object. He applied this to experimental science and philosophical meditations. In his major work "Theory of Communicative Action" he criticized traditional static rationalism and defended a more dynamic social action, linking experience to communicative action, which becomes a substitute for moral consciousness.

6- Social Sciences

The School also tried to develop an independent theory for social sciences, away from thematic modeling and experimental fieldwork. Horkheimer linked the school to philosophies of life and phenomenology by opposition to experimentalism and pragmatism (Pierce's "pragmatics"); and he linked the School to analysis of normative structures, to the analysis of social phenomena on the human level in order to know the laws of society. The School opened the "debate on method" to find a special theory, logic and method for social science. Horkheimer showed the social dimension in all sciences. Habermas analyzed the relation between knowledge and human interests, giving a new incentive to sociology of knowledge via Max Scheler, Karl Mannheim and G. Gurvitch. Habermas and the School linked scholarship with citizenship, logos with praxis, author with public, science with politics. It criticized positivism, pragmatism, and historicism, along with a critical examination of the unity between knowledge and human interests.

7- Reflection of Conditions

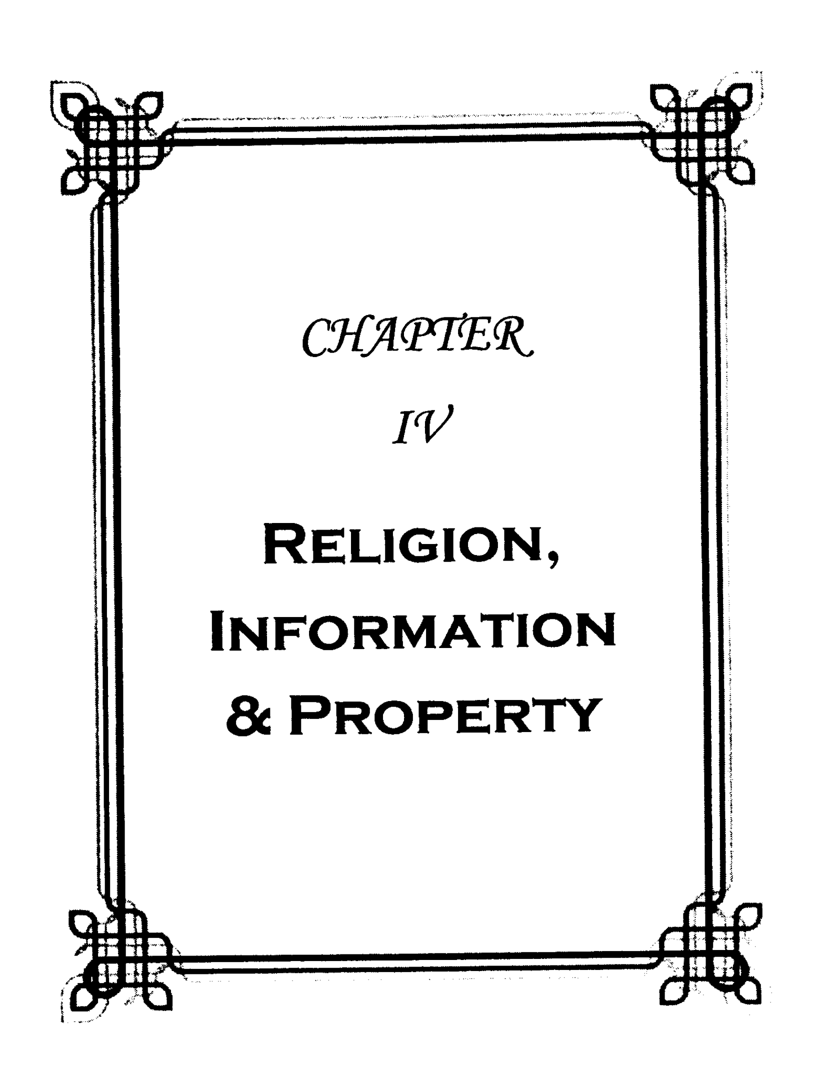
The School was an expression of political conditions in Europe from the twenties on, during the rise of Nazism and facism. The

leaders of the School emigrated to USA and returned to Germany after the war. An entire project on the study of Authoritanian personality was implemented, linked with the study of underlying ideologies, and linking sociology to psychology. Habermas extended this line of thinking in his famous work "The New Conservatism", tracing the origin of conservatism in the welfare state and in Utopian and Romantic thinking. In this perspective Heidegger and Foucault also may represent forms of conservatism.

8- Systems

Finally the School analyzed the two competing world economic systems of capitalism and socialism, showing the inherent crises in both, the latent revolution against the first, and the desire for liberalism in the second. It called for a third system, which the new left is trying to offer. The critique of capitalism is that it is trying to accommodate itself to escape a radical counterrevolution, a historical world revolution, not a simple mass revolt. The radical revolution requires emancipation from the capitalist system, from its culture of production, distribution and consumption, from its manipulative mass media and advertising, and from its one-dimensional model of man. Habermas showed the political use of technology, the legitimization of capitalism, using science and technology. He criticized Weber's concept of rationalization as a justification of Capitalism. Like Marcuse, Habermas saw in the student protest movement a new social actor for this radical revolution, linking science to politics and making from political opposition a major subject for social analysis. The establishment of the Negev University for desert development following the Ben Gurion advice is an example.





CHAPTER

IV

RELIGION, INFORMATION & PROPERTY

Islamic Perspectives on the Information Revolution

Islamic perspectives on the information revolution are a part of Islamic responses to the West, since the information revolution is linked to the West and identified with it. They can be gathered from disparate writings of contemporary Islamic movements. Beyond right and wrong, defense or critique, these responses reveal an ideological stand more than an analytical one. They are more a defense of the self rather than a critique of the other.

However, this stand is not necessarily against the common critique of the information revolution made by the liberals of the left. It is neither peculiar nor original. It becomes even common knowledge, sound and understandable as a declaration of good Intentions.

Islamic movements are a part of Arab intellectual and national daily life, neither to be identified with the whole Arab political entity nor to be rejected as alienation. They are there as a component of the multiple Arab intellectual and political reality. The polarity between Islamic conservatism and secular progressism is only a power struggle between two conflicting (Political) power, each one considering itself the natural and necessary heir of the present decaying political regime. Each one is excluding the other, not including it in one

(*) University of Georges Town, Center of Arabic studies, U.S.A., June 1995.

multiple national spectrum. Secular progressism legitimizes the exclusion of Islamic conservatism as future excludes the past, modernity versus tradition, science against superstition. Islamic conservatism in return legitimizes its exclusion of secular progressism as identity versus alienation, authenticity versus westernization, spiritual patrimony against material invasion.

There is not one unified stand of Islamic movements ***vis à vis*** the information revolution because there is not one unified Islamic movement. These movements can be classified in the common political spectrum into the right, the center, and the left. The right is represented by Islamic conservatism including Islamic fundamentalism, not only violent groups but also political regimes in countries pretending to rule in the name of Islam or practicing the ***shari'a***. The center is represented by a more enlightened conservatism as crystallized by the bulk of Islamic movements namely Muslim brethren. The left may be represented by the enlightened Islam, the liberal wing of Muslim brothers including the Islamic left.

There may be no sharp landmarks between these three trends in the Islamic movement. They all share the same objective: Islam as life style, cultural identity and a socio-political order. They differ only in the ways and means in theory and in practice to implement this objective. What matters is the common denominator concerning Islamic responses to the information revolution.

The phenomenological method may be the most suitable method to describe the information revolution in contemporary Arab World as living experiences. Data analysis, reference books, statistics, raw material, proper names, dates ...etc are only the carriers of essence of human experiences. Sharing with the Islamic movement some of their anguish makes Islamic responses to the information revolution an intersubjective experience between the subject and the object, between the ***noesis*** and the ***noema***. The scholar himself is a part of the Islamic movements, and a representative of the Islamic left.

The conservative response to the information revolution is not based on an accurate objective and detailed knowledge of information and may be also of Islam. Information is simply equated to the West and the West is equated to materialism, atheism and anarchism. The West is a competitive, alienated and opposite source of information to authentic Islamic knowledge. Information revolution is exogenous, while Islam is endogenous. Islam is self-sufficient in knowledge containing all what the Muslims need. They have their glorious tradition from the past and the power of ***Ijtihad*** in the present [(1)].

The tradition itself offered several sources of information that were successful in providing the Muslims with the information they needed. Divine revelation, prophetic ***Hadith***, historical narratives, travel sojourns, following the traces of the animals and birds, dreams, visions etc. The huge amount of information the Muslims had about neighboring culture as Greek, Persian, and Hindu shows that the Muslims did not suffer from the lack of information. Oral traditions in primitive societies may be more efficient than the information revolution in advanced industrial societies. A mass rally can be highly organized by a password from mouth to mouth, in a face to face relation better than E-mail.

However, the rejection of western information in theory does not prevent Islamic conservatism from taking advantage of it in practice. Money investment companies directed by Muslim groups used a very advanced computerized banking system domestically and internationally. Modern information revolution: faxes, e-mails, electronic devices ...etc are highly benefited from in stockmarkets, gold speculations and international real state [(2)]. Each Arab banker or a businessman in Arabian Peninsula is hanging a ***beeper*** under his Arab traditional dress making him in a direct and immediate contact

(1) This response can be represented by Mawdudi's ***Nahnu wa al-hadarah al-gharbiyah***; and Sayyed Qutb's ***Khasais al-tasawwur al-islami wa muqawimatuh***.

(2) Such as: al-Rayan, al-Sherif, al-Sa'd...etc.

with world monetary market. His several Mercedes in front of his palace are parallel to his several camels ***Hajin*** in front of his tent in the desert ***Barr***. As underground movements, Islamic groups used coding to build the cells to gather information and to communicate with the "groups" (1). The groups are forms of cells building in a form of pyramid put upside down like a grape. All members are linked to one group unit without knowing each other even inside the group and without being linked to other group units for security reasons. The leaders use a high technique of security to hide. One of the ***sheikhs***, a notorious T.V figure considers the West a tool God put in Muslim hands. The west has a point: science, while Muslims have two: Science coming from the West and faith provided by the revelation and which the West lost. Science without faith is destructive and self-annihilating, while science intertwined with faith is constructive and self-building. The enjoyment of the pleasures of this world is facilitated by the devices the West invented, while Islam is providing the enjoyment of the pleasures of the other world .On the long run, the West is the loser, the Muslims are the winners.

Muslim brethren representing the center have a more nuanced perception of the information revolution. The dichotomy between Islam and the West is still relevant but on a more cultural level as a dichotomy between the center and the periphery. The center creates, the periphery transfers. Since information is power, the information revolution in the West adds superiority and creates a complex of inferiority in the Muslim world. Besides, the information revolution is a part of a global process of Westernization begun two hundred years ago, the dawn of the Arab renaissance. Technology is not value-free. It reveals a desire to dominate, to exploit and to monopolize. Information is gathered about everything including privacy. Dishes violated the moral space in the Muslim world propagating alien values such as sex, nudity, homosexuality,

(1) *Salsabil* Computer company has been discovered lately as a cover-up operation to underground Islamic movements.

lesbianism, individual and organized crime, violence, consumption, power, fame and supremacy. Modernity is equated to corruption. Mass media is identified with advertising. National values of capitalist societies are widely spread out such as quick earnings, wealth, success, competition, profit, exploitation, commercialization of private and public life. The information revolution blew up the power of espionage and blackmail to individuals and states.

However, Muslim Brethren also fall into the double standard in their perception of the information revolution. In theory they criticize it, in practice they use it. Ideologically they warn against it, pragmatically they benefit from it. Muslim Brethren in the Gulf after being exiled out of Egypt and Syria became notorious bankers and businessmen. They reached the peak in construction, through new technologies based on the information revolution, plastic industries, printing, medieval practices, design and social services. Piety brings prosperity. Honesty and good reputation are high values in market economy. A widespread network of international Muslim brothers linked all groups for a co-ordinated common political action.

The information revolution in the contemporary Arab world viewed from the Islamic left can only be analyzed as a social phenomenon in the framework of the socio-political and economic structure of any given society, including Arab society. Information is not a separate entity existing per se, independent from society in which it is anchored.

Any information requires a sender, a media and a receiver. A sender alone broadcasting messages is like John the Baptist crying in the desert without means of communication and without masses. Secularism is a sound message. Who rejects the ideals of enlightenment, reason, nature, freedom, democracy, equality and progress? The challenge of secularism is the absence of the media to diffuse the ideals of enlightenment and the absence of masses to receive them.

Media alone without a message to be sent and masses to receive is similar to science fiction, pure technological wonders without purpose [1]. The information revolution in this sense becomes a means and an end. In one of the Gulf universities a highly computerized library has been built, linked to major libraries in New York, Washington and Chicago. But there is no message to be communicated or students to receive. A simple book on a traditional shelf opened by hand can be more informative than a screen. The official state mass-media in the Arab world, in spite of its power, does not create a strong and legitimate political regime because the message broadcasted lacks credibility and the recipient masses are oriented to foreign mass-media which is more credible [2].

A receiver alone without sender and media is like a silent majority. No message is given to it, nor means of communication are available. Masses stand still in their stagnation and they are easily recruited in Islamic underground movements. Some become victim of drugs or they draft abroad, brain drain to the West or labor to the Gulf.

When two components are linked together complete information does not occur. A powerful message linked to a powerful media without the masses is another cry in the desert. Conservatism, ritualism and dogmatism with many spokesmen and powerful mass media offered by the state cannot effect an information revolution since the message is uprooted from mass interests and public welfare.

A powerful mass media through cassettes heard by the masses eager to know about the invisible world to escape and compensate their predicament in this world leads to superstitions and monopoly of mass mobilization. Without a sound message, sectarianism, group

(1) Such as Omar Abd al-Rahman phenomenon in America, a powerful media through e-mail without a sound message or masses.

(2) Such as BBC and Monte Carlo.

violence and even civil wars may erupt given the powerful mass-media and mass-mobilization [1]. Superstitious Islam is propagated through popular means: mosques, mystical orders, and religious feasts are making popular Islam the only Islam. Nazism and Facism were once victorious, communism was once overwhelming and dominating the half of the world by these two components.

A relevant message expressing mass interests and public welfare for a recipient masses without mass-media does not create an information revolution leading to a social revolution. Islamic left and popular Nasserism are two forms of this imperfect information. Mass media is in the hands of those who are in political power or contending on the short run political power. The Islamic left works for historical power on the long run.

Once the three components are present, the sender, the mass media and the masses, a social change occurs with the minimum information revolution and even with traditional one. The phenomenon of ***Khomeini*** at the beginning of the Islamic revolution in Iran is the most spectacular example: a revolutionary message anchored in Islam and popular tradition in an oppressed, secular and pro-western society. A powerful and efficient mass media through simple cassettes, independent mosques with revolutionary imams, Bazars and businessmen as means of communication, and finally millions are on the streets of Tehran. T.V series fulfilling these three components of information revolution can produce a national consensus. Popular Nasserism as a message, T.V as a popular mass media almost in every home with millions of viewers in Egypt seeing the rise and the fall of Egyptian national dignity [2]. Sometime information revolution occurs in sensitive sectors of the state such as the army and the internal security and intelligence. The message is clear and unquestionable, national security and internal stability. The means

(1) Such as the Cassettes of Ahmed Didat from Darban concerning the refutation of trinity and of Rushdy in Eygpt on the glory of faith.

(2) Reference to ***layali al-hilmiya*** and other T.V series of osama Anouar Okasha.

are efficient, a high technological network. The recipients are the most powerful sections of the state.

With these Islamic reactions to information revolution in contemporary Arab world, is it possible to make an objective assessment of such reactions and in a more scientific and national way keeping in mind the negative stand?

1- There is a difference between information and knowledge. Information is only data gathering and quantification which can be reduced to the minimum or up to the maximum, dependant on human effort of knowing by observation, intensive or extensive, questionnaires, statistics, experience ...etc. The information revolution does not add anything new more than simple information that can be provided. Knowledge is the inference from the data, reading the raw material, seeing the significance, perceiving the quality, what is between the lines, the invisible beyond the visible. Information is a transfer of knowledge not the certainty of new knowledge. In information, inputs and outputs are of the same kind. Even linking all information centers is a mere transfer of information not an increase of knowledge.

2- As long as human intelligence depends on information technology, power of intelligence will decrease. Information is always there. Reflection is selection. The mind chooses one of several alternatives in front of it without creating new alternatives. The human mind becomes a *salafi* mind, looking for new solution in the past-acquired knowledge. Research for new avenues will be reduced to the minimum since information is already there. Logic of discovery is one thing and analyzing while synthesizing is something else. In information, truth is outside in the external world, while truth is outside and inside in the internal world. The external world is only the stimulus and the verification of the internal world.

3- Information does not take into consideration the non-information in the process of knowledge, and consequently, in the decision making process. Non-information elements can be the will

of the people, the recuperation of honor, the struggle for survival, the unexpected in history, the unpredictable in human destiny in relation to even the simple technological failure [1]. Deterministic information sometimes is broken through by human freedom. The liberation of the mind from accumulated information may help in acquiring knowledge. Once the problem is outside the information system, the programmer is lost.

4- There is not pure information. Information is power. It reflects the balance of power between big centers of information, who has information, who withheld information, who is using information to dominate whom? [2]. Till new information flows from the center to the periphery, and since new information is not value-free, it can build or destroy. It can reveal or conceal. National resistance may be described as terrorism, violence, and fanaticism. Traditionalism and the affirmation of cultural identity may be labeled as backwardness and reaction. Ancient cultures were said to be the beginnings of the history of man. The way of information is not less important than the content of information itself.

Information after being printed becomes piles of papers. The object that is to be informed about disappears. Bureaucracy increases not decreases. For simple questions, hundreds of operations are required to answer. Besides, information turns the machine into man's partner. Man speaks to it, corresponds with others by email through it. Life becomes impersonal without personal intercommunication, a dialog between I and thou. Human solidarity is dislocated. The society becomes disparate individuals communicating with each other through machines. Coding becomes a means of communication. Symbols are substituted for words, letter to metaphors and arithmetics to imagination.

(1) America and Israel had the maximum information about the Egyptian army concluding that the war will never occur just before the October War of 1973. America also considered Iran during the Shah an oasis of security just before the burst of Islamic revolution in 1979.

(2) Mukhtan Ambi, the former director of UNESCO in Paris left office after the publication of "New Information Order" denouncing the monopoly of information by the West.

Islamic reservations to the information revolution in contemporary Arab world does not undermine its practical benefits. They are only a reminder of the other face of the coin, the natural, the spontaneous and the human. Otherwise ***l'elan vital*** will become ***entropy***, the intuition is degenerated to intelligence and modern times; using Bergson's image becomes machine creating goods.



Property and the Concept of Clash of Civilizations

Primary Reflections

I- Private and Public Property

1- The link between property and clash of civilizations can be seen as an external link from without. Property is a major problematic in the history of thought, clash of civilizations is the most notorious theory since the famous Huntington's article in *Foreign Affairs* in 1997. Globalization, the new ideology after the end of the bi-polar world, needs more articulation to be a Global Ideology such as Socialism or Capitalism. Globalization produced for the center other supporting concepts such as: clash of civilizations, end of history, information revolution, new technologies of communication. Globalization also produced for the periphery other concepts such as: Governance, minorities, civil society, human rights and gender. The Purpose of the first bundle is to strengthen and to unify the center, while the purpose of the second bundle is to weaken and to fragment the periphery.

2- Property can be analyzed from the subjective side, the owner, or from the objective side, the owned. In phenomenological

(*) Inter-disciplinary workshop: Property in Western and Islamic Thought: a comparative analysis. The University of Vienna, 19-21 September, 2002.

terms property is an intentionality, a tension between the subject and the object, a reciprocal relation between the owner and the owned, a double-way from the ***noesis*** to ***nôema*** and from ***nôema*** to ***noesis***. In phenomenological method it is not enough to put property between brackets as a fact to constitute it as an essence, but to clarify it through major distinctions. From the subjective side there are distinctions between private and public property, and in between there are different degrees of private-public relationships. From the objective side, there is a distinction between property of things and property of acts.

3- According to linguistic analysis in English, there are two words: "property" and "ownership" which may implicitly refer to material and intellectual property. In German, the same distinction exists between ***proprietat*** and ***Eigentum***, even if the first term has a French origin. The first refers to things, the second to acts. In French, there is only one word, verb ***Avoir*** to express the relation between man and his related matters, things, feelings or ideas. All are ***propriétés***, a building or book, a hand or a poem. In Arabic, there is no verb to have or to own. Property is a relation expressed by a personal pronoun or an adverb ***Indy*** or preposition ***Li***. Although the verb "***malak***" "exist" is similar to verb to have, it is never used because it is superfluous. Verb to have in Arabic and also verb to be are implicit not explicit, understood by reason not seen in writing or heard by sound. The verb is not a sound word but a composite one from ***Ma*** a relative pronoun, and ***Li***, a preposition, and ***K***, a demonstrative pronoun to address the other. The verb means "what is related to you".

i- From the side of the owner, not the owned, there are many kinds of property:

ii- Private property of utensil for daily and private usage which does not prevent others from having similar ones, cloth, eyeglasses, or pencils.

iii- Family property for common use of the family members such as salons, kitchens, bathrooms, stairways, backyards, main door ...etc.

iv- Community property such as local public gardens, common buildings, NGO headquarters, UN properties, international waters, ... etc.

v- State property such as electricity, water, gas, mines, roads, mountains, valleys, lakes, rivers, armaments, public buildings ...etc.

Therefore, Nature which is beyond human reach cannot be owned neither privately nor collectively such as the sun, the moon, the stars, the planets, air, rain, space, ...etc. Macro-cosmos can't be owned by micro-cosmos. Property is a part of nature not all. For a believer, God is the Eminent Owner of Nature by the fact of creation.

4- From the side of the owned, property can be for things or for acts. The first property can move from one owner to another through transactions according to the laws of the market. It is not a personal property between this thing and that person, but it is a private one, a relation between any person and any thing according to the price of the thing and the buying power of the owner. Property as acts is personal. These acts are of this person and this person is of these acts. Acts are not exposed in the market, they are more in the category of being than in the category of having. Acts are the expression of human desires, feelings, motivations and intentions which cannot be transferred from a person to another.

5- In all cultures, there is a trend which denies intellectual or material property. In ancient Greece, Socrates refused to be paid for his teachings. Knowledge is for all human beings. It needs only to be driven from the inside to the outside by irony. The teacher is like the "deliverer" who extracts the baby from his mother's womb. He was against the Sophists because they earn from knowledge which they "possess".

In modern times, Max Stirner in his ***Dass Einzeln and sein Eigentum*** denies that the ***Unique*** owns anything except his desires, his freedom and his powers. The Self owns itself and the other, a thing or another self.

Rousseau denied property since the thing is in nature and man lives in nature, purifies himself by nature against the evils of society, property included. The thief is the first man who put his hand on a thing and said "this is mine". The second thief is the one who disputed the first ownership is not a thief but a reformer who wants to correct the first theft by a second theft. Since two errors do not make one right, the radical reform is to return the thing to "nature".

The big debate was Prudhon's ***Que-est-que la propriete***? and Marx's against the capitalist notion of property, innate in man. The child by nature holds things, from hand to mouth.

Gabriel Marcel's ***Etre et Avoir*** following Stirner makes a sharp distinction between Being and Having. Man is his body not owning his body. Man is in the category of Being while things are in the category of having. Heidegger's distinction between ***Vorhandenheit*** and ***Zuhandenheit*** falls in the same line, one for things and the other for acts.

6- Even with the split of the world between capitalist and socialist systems, common property has been maintained in both systems. A strong public sector exists in both, and differences is in degree not in kind. State property exists also in both. Property rights for intellectual creativities do fall after 50 years. They do not stay forever. The works of Homeros, Plato, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Thomas of Acquinas, Shakespeare, Descarters, Bacon, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Beethoven ...etc, are priceless. They belong to another order than commerce.

7- Property ***par excellence*** is for actions as motivations, as intentions and as finalities. Man owns his acts for which he is

accountable. His actions are for the service of the community, an implementation of duty, for the realization of the high cause.

Prophets are the models of doing without having. Their teachings are not paid in kind, but in history. They do not own and they are not inherited. They are only messengers, carriers of a message. The message is taken by anyone for future generations. Since scholars are the heirs of the prophets they follow the same model. Their discoveries, their inventions and their ideas are in the service of mankind. They are supported by the state or by the endowments for their own living.

God gave the creators mind and soul, energy and intellectual powers by which they create free without return. Creators give mankind the products of their Divine gifts also free without return. The only gain is immortality in history and being a part of humanity. Work in the world, investing, developing and urbanizing is a Divine Duty. No one owns the discovery of planes, train, ships, cameras, medicine...etc. Inventions are accumulative, a result of a common effort.

8- Islam is very much for public property. Property in Islam is a deposit to be used not misused, to be invested not capitalized, to be useful for all, not monopolized. Ownership is a function, a relation or a behavior, not a fixed thing. In Islam as well as in all religions, charity is a high value, to give not to take, to offer not to request. ***Zakat*** in Islam is the minimum right of the poor in the wealth of the rich. Common property will prevent a huge class stratification.

In Islam, selling teachings, or Quranic recitation, or obtained knowledge is a sin. Scholars are poor, distanced from the Sultans. Islamic authors borrowed from each other without referring to their sources or even without documenting their quotations. Dissemination and accumulation of knowledge are much more important than the original sources of knowledge. There is no difference in writing between creating and compiling, between composing and collecting

information. The idea of intellectual theft is alien since creativity is a common share. Ibn Sina's ***al-Shifa'*** is a compilation of different sources. That is why quantity prevailed over quality [1].

II- Private Property and Clash of Civilizations

1- Private property and clash of civilizations are twin concepts and they play the same role. Private property excludes others from sharing it such as a civilization excluding other civilizations to make a common share. Both are exclusive not inclusive concepts. It is the same Worldview based on ownership, on having not being. The whole world is a thing, a manufacture to be owned, things or acts, material or moral. Both are goods in the market and according to its law: competition and profit.

2- Clash of civilizations presupposes that Civilization with capital C is going to be victorious on civilizations with small cs. The whole world will be the property of the victorious civilization. Clash of civilizations, therefore, is a prerequisite for the property of the global world. The world has one Culture, and one Owner. Since there is no fair competition between cultures of the center and cultures of the periphery, the big C swallows the smaller cs according to the laws of the market.

3- Cultures are considered as things not acts. Cultures in small cs are put in anthropological museums to be seen as history, as archeology of knowledge. Only Culture with capital C is a living culture, viable for eternity. Culture with capital C is the owner of cultures in small cs, trafficking in its objects, smuggling its monuments and transferring its temples from Iraq and Egypt to the British museum, the Louvre or even far away to the Metorpolitan Museum in New York.

(1) America When I was publishing "Islamic Government" and "The Struggle with the Self" of Imam Khomeini in 1979, I asked him for permission and he replied "Disseminate the book for all those who want to learn and let them disseminate it further".

4- Acculturation is a normal relation between the cultures of the center and the cultures of the periphery. Small cultures have to yield to the big culture, to negate themselves and to assimilate the only universal culture. "A" is privative. It is negative more than positive, the negation of the self and the affirmation of the other. In cultural anthropology it is more positive to establish a civilizational process from local cultures to the universal culture. Clash of civilizations has only one outcome, the victory of the Culture of the center, and the defeat of the cultures of the periphery. The big property expands on small properties to make the one polar world a big landlord.

5- Since the Universal Culture is the Judeo-Christian culture, and the local cultures are the Islamic-Confucian cultures, clash of civilizations will be between these two cultural circles, as a ***camouflage*** of the real economic dispute between America and Asia on who is the owner of the world? Since peoples in Africa and Asia are still attached to their traditions, the real economic and political disputes are covered up by clash of civilizations in order that traditional peoples defend their traditions, away from defending their interests. The only advantage is that for the first time the West spelled out what has been hidden before. Colonial wars were not only against peoples, land and wealth but also against their cultures. Africa became Anglophone and Francophone, not Africanphone. English language became a national language in India. Western hemisphere spoke French and English in the North, English and Spanish in the Center, Spanish and Portuguese in the South after the annihilation of the Red Indians and putting the survivors into reservations.

6- Since the Judeo-Christian culture is in the West and the Islamic-Confucian cultures are in the East, clash of civilizations is indeed a new term of the old East-West struggle. Under the pretext of September 11 2001, the United States jumped over Europe into Asia to have a foot in the heart of Asia, to surround China and Russia from the South, threatening Iran from the North and Iraq

from the East, swallowing the Asian markets from Indonesia, Malaysia, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore, coming closer to the Caspian Sea oil fields. In the name of war against terror, the one polar world wants to abort the possibility of the emergence of a second pole in Asia. The Group of Eight has already the whole world as private property against any regional cooperation such as the group of 24 including Malaysia, Indonesia, Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Nigeria, a revitalization of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and ban dung.

III- Public property and dialogue of civilization

1- Dialogue of civilization is linked to public property. Civilizations are a common share between all peoples and cultures. A universal common value system cannot be owned by one culture and proposed by one people. It is the work of a long history shared by all and owned by none. Civilization is the work of the spirit of the world in history. It is the destiny of the world which no body can own.

2- Civilization is a public sphere. Each people participate in its formulation. Civilization is an accumulative outcome, a work of many peoples and cultures. It is an ocean in which every culture poured. The part cannot own the whole. The multi-nationals are not an expression of dialogue of civilizations because information and technologies are in the center, while raw material and labor are in the periphery. Both are monopolized by the center.

3- Civilizations are linked together in a continuous model from ancient Egypt, China, India, Persia, mesopotamia till Western modern times. The fruits of the present have their seeds and roots in the past. Aviation has its origin in Ekaros in Greece and Abbas Ibn Fernas in Islam, before being finally invented in Europe. Fire weapons were invented in China before being developed in the modern West. Architecture was flourishing in the East before sky-

scrapers in New York, before September 11th 2001. Four of the seven wonders of the world are in the East, China great wall, Tag Mahal in India, the pyramids in Egypt before modern technologies which built Eiffel Tower in Paris and the Golden bridge in Saint Francisco. The conspiracy of silence on non-western sources of western civilization is a certain kind of usurpation of other cultures effort for creativity, generally proved by M. Bernard's ***Black Athena***.

4- ***Philosophia Perennis*** which is an outcome of dialogue of civilizations, is not a deductive work of one superior culture but an inductive work of all human cultures, divergences ending into convergences. No culture owns it but only identifies with it. It is a common share between all peoples and cultures, a common share in being not in having. Reason, science, man, freedom, equality, social justice and progress are not the monopoly of one culture, ancient or modern, but they exist in every culture in different propositions. Reason is a common value in Greece, in Islam and in modern West. Nature is common in ancient China, Greece, Islam and the West. Formal logic exists in Greece and in Buddhist logic. It is the Western concept of property which made in historiography these values the privilege of Western Enlightenment. Since Luckas's ***The destruction of reason*** and ***Adorno's The negative dialectics*** and ***Dialectic of Enlightenment*** till ***Feyeraband's Farewell to reason*** and ***Against method***, the West destroyed what it built while in other civilizations there is a permanent struggle to keep these ideals alive, permanently renewed.

5- In the clash of civilizations there is a property dispute, "which civilization did what" in order to obtain the due return. A Russian is the first to put his feet on the moon in order that the moon becomes Russian property. An American flag is the first flag to be planted on the moon in order that the moon becomes an American property. That was during the cold war. China may expand its water zone to include Hong Kong and even more to include Taiwan. American military basis are everywhere, Guantanamo, the

Phillipines, Khazakistan, Zahran in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Indian Ocean ...etc, to defend the free world against terrorism. The Canaeries are disputed by Morocco and Spain. The three islands in the Gulf are disputed between Iran and the United Arab Emirates. In dialogue of civilizations territorial disputes disappear. Within the European union Alsace-Lorrain dispute between France and Germany Dissipated. Within Arab unity the Sahara dispute between Morocco and Polizario, Tinduf oasis between Morocco and Algeria, Buremi oasis dispute between Oman and United Arab Emirates, Halaieb and Shlatin dispute between Egypt and Sudan, Iraq Kuwait dispute on some oil fields on the common borders, can find solution through common property and collective ownership.

6- In the West, modern technologies of communication will make public property prevail on private property. All information are available through internet, space channels, cd's photocopy, scanning, recording, inter-loan libraries ...etc. No one owns privately an information on record. Withholding information is a crime not only in a court of justice but also a crime against humanity, an obstruction of learning. Genetic engineering and organ transplantation switched from classical concepts of private property to a more public property and welfare. Commercializing human organs is a misuse of public welfare and transforming it to private property. Also, in the Arab and Muslim word public property is misused for profit gains in the field of publication under the pretext of knowledge dissemination and making available scarce products or the embattlement of their forms and ways of presentation. The challenge is not conflicting cultures but conflicting interests, not clash or dialogue of civilizations but clash or dialogue between private and public properties. The major challenge is in a cultural choice concerning the position of man in the world, the owner of the world or being in the world, ***in-der-welt-Haben*** or ***in-der-Welt-Sein?***

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Impediments to Inter-Religious Dialogue

Interfaith co-operation is possible through inter-religious dialogue as a rigorous discipline away from empty rhetoric on brotherhood and tolerance. The purpose of the dialogue is not to convert the other, nor to prove that one religion is false. It is not even a question of preference or of free choice. Any dialogue is based on norms and common values. One partner cannot be taken as matrix to the other partner. Any religion has an essence or a substance away from historical accidents. A reformist movement is essentially a turning back to this essence after it was confused with its historical accidents including human passions and social interests. Any religion begins by its own enlightenment called revelation identical to human understanding and natural perfection, namely the identity between revelation, reason and nature. This identity can be considered as the essential concept while all other religious components such as dogmas, rituals, institutions, law, history and symbols are peripheral concepts.

Any religion has two tendencies. The first is traditionalist, dogmatic, ritualistic, institutional and legal, the outcome of history, of human and social interactions. Bergson called it the static religion. It is the version studied by sociologists of religion, anthropologists and historians, especially if they adopt a positivistic approach to

(*) World Philosophers Meet '98, Geneva, 18-21 August 1998.

religion, i.e., religion as a social phenomena as Durkheim did [1]. It is the version which makes mystics and free thinkers revolt against religion. It is the version of the scribes, the elders, sects like the Phariseer, whom Christ criticized in the Sermon on the Mount, which Luther criticized in his reformation against Roman Catholicism, which Buddha went beyond against Hinduism, which Confucius also left behind in the old Chinese religions included in the ***I Ching***, which all mystics rejected as the religion of law, not of love, a ***Halaka*** not ***Hagada***, a ***Shari'a*** not a ***Haqika***. It is the version which made some free thinkers look for a natural religion like Lessing, Rousseau and Tolstoy or become completely atheists such as Feuerbach. This version represents the peripheral concepts of religion.

The second tendency is liberal, spiritual, modernist, moral, internal, individual and human, the outcome of deep religious experience coming from the depth of human heart. Bergson called it the Dynamic Religion. It is the version analyzed by psychologists of religion, phenomenologists, mystics and poets, such as W. James and Van Der Leuw [2]. It is the version which makes the elites and free thinkers attached to religion, defending rational religion like Kant, natural religion like Lessing. It is the version of the prophets not of the scribes or rabbis, of the mystics not of the jurists, ***Hagada*** against ***Halaka***, ***Ta'wil*** against ***Tanzil***, esoterism versus exoterism, Confucius against ancient Chinese religion, Buddha against Hinduism, Socrates against Greek polytheism, Christ against the merchants in the temple, Mohammed against idolatry. It is the version of each reformist movement, Luther against Roman Catholicism, Spinoza and liberal and reformed Judaism against the Synagogue. It is the religion of the prophets, of Abraham against the Sabeans who worshiped the stars, of Moses against the Pharaohs, of

(1) E. Durkheim: Les fonnes élémentaire de la vie religieuse, PUF, Paris.

(2) W. James: the Varieties of Religious Experience, Collier, N.Y. 1972; Van der Leuw: Religion, its Essence and Manifestation, Payot, Paris, 1955. Bergson: Les Deux Sources de la Morak et de la Religion, PUF, Paris, 1955.

the Essenians against the Phariseers. This version represents the essential concept of religion.

The *Credo* is a peripheral concept in religion. A *Credo* was in the beginning a Worldview, an idea or a motivation for action. Then it was transformed into a thing. Christ is not only the unity between the ideal and the real, between spirit and nature but he is a real historical event, a literal incarnation in flesh similar to the concept of reality in positivism. While in phenomenology, facts are between brackets, only essences can be perceived intuitively, and meanings can be understood rationally. The *Credo* is considered sometimes beyond human reason as a mystery, a matter of belief not of understanding. Doctrines of original sin, of salvation, the authority of the church, the papal infallibility in Christianity, of covenant and election in Judaism, of polytheism in Hinduism or ancient Chinese religions incite human reason to revolt in the name of human understanding. A dogma is not truth *per se*, a theory having its criteria of validity in itself, but a simple means for action, and a motivation for human behavior. Therefore, a peripheral concept of a belief if it is conceived as a thing, as a mystery, or as a theory *per se*, an inter-religious dialogue based on such a belief-system would be impossible since there is no room for common understanding.

Rituals are also a peripheral concept. Rituals are simple, external and symbolic gestures for something else. They do not express the essence of religion. They can be performed as pure forms without content. They can be even used as a cover-up for other hidden motivations as is the case in hypocrisy. Rituals are external, piety is internal. All reformist movements were anti-ritualistic and pro-pietistic. Confucius rejected the ritualistic aspect in ancient Chinese religion, making religion ethical, determining social relations between the individual and others. Socrates criticized the immoral concept of gods, competing and cheating, and defended a moral standard for religious life. Buddha also changed religion as gesticulation by the body to religion as internal enlightenment. Christ

rejected the external rituals like the Sabbath. The presence of God in the heart does not need external appearances. Luther rejected the Roman Catholic sacraments. The believer can live in the moment his act of belief in direct relation with God without the intercession of the confession. Tolstoy conceived the kingdom of heaven as within not outside. Rituals are a peripheral concept. It cannot be taken as a norm in an inter-religious dialogue.

Since each religion has a belief-system and a legal system, a creed and a law, and since the creed is a simple motivation for good action, not a value ***per-se***, a thing or a theory, the law is also a peripheral aspect in religion. Religious law is neither proscription nor prescription, imposed by the Will of God on man. It is a simple moral law expressing human nature tending towards its perfection. The penal, whether code harsh or lenient, is inconceivable since the purpose of religion is not to punish. Religious law is a natural law, based on the affirmation of universal human values such as life, reason, truth and honor. The law binds while nature frees. In each religion there is an external quarrel between the literal and the spiritual meaning of the scriptures. The literal meaning is usually the legal one. In Christianity it is the opposition between law and love, in Judaism between the ***Halaka*** and the ***Hagada***, in Islam between jurists and mystics, between ***Tanzil*** and ***Ta'wil***. Kant made the external canonic and religious law a simple moral law. So did Fichte in his ***Axiomatics of All revelations***. Spinoza conceived the Jewish law anchored in the heart of man as a natural law, not that of the Sanhedrin. Religion as law is a peripheral concept while religion as social content is more linked to the essential concept which permits an open dialogue.

Each religion is based on the concept of the holy: the holy book, the holy church, the holy father, the holy land, the holy city, the holy history, the holy place, etc, as if the holy is a thing in space separate from the profane. These things are simply symbols, indicators, eschatological signs for something else, and the

significance. The person of the prophet is not holy. He is a simple means to communicate the word of God. ***A Fortiori*** the Pope or the priest as any human being are not holy. The Book is a simple bunch of inked papers bound together. The holiness does not come from the papers but from the Word written in them after being heard and understood. The holiness comes from the self, projecting its own admiration on the thing admired, a person, a thing, a place or an institution. The church has nothing holy. It is a pure human institution inherited from history. The land has nothing holy. It is only the remembrance of certain events, which occurred in the land, which makes it holy. The city has nothing holy except by nostalgia of the past. History has nothing holy. It is only a field of occurring events. The believer projects on it his own hopes and wishes for future salvation. While life is holy, no one can exterminate it. Nature is holy. No one can destroy or waste it. The holy is a peripheral concept in each religion, and cannot serve as a basis for inter-religious dialogue.

The institution belongs also to the peripheral concepts of religion. It is a man-made construction in a special socio-historical context. It has nothing to do with the essence of religion. On the contrary, it betrays that essence all the time. An institution after all is a man-made one. God does not come in person to build a church, to establish a synagogue or to construct a temple. The church is the Roman temple having a new function. The synagogue is the Jewish place to celebrate in community. The mosque is a new spatial form of Arab pre-Islamic gatherings. The Hindu temple is a place for the poor to meet, an occasion for festivities and folklore. The Institution has a power to administer the community of believers, to have control on the lives of the people. That is why it is challenged by the political institution, generating a power struggle between church and state. All reformist movements were against religious institutions. Their ideal was to establish a religion of the spirit without the authority of the institution, as Luther wanted. The institution was always a source of oppression to reformers and free thinkers. The

inquisition was a religious institution. The institution is an usurpation of the power of God as well as of man to empower itself against both God and man. The institution is also a peripheral concept, which cannot serve in inter-religious dialogue.

Finally, history is a peripheral concept in religion. Religion is different from its manifestations in History. There is a distinction in level between ***De jure*** and ***De facto***, between ***Sein*** and ***Seinsollen***, between facts and norms. The history of salvation is something, and salvation is something else. Saint Augustine already made a distinction between the City of Earth and the City of God in De Civitate Deii. All that occurred in history is a part of human history. The distinction between Christianism and Christianity is made on that norm. Luther's protest movement was just to consider the church as a part of history, not belonging to the essence of religion. Otherwise, religion will be responsible for all that happened in history in its name, under its pretext or under its cover-up. Killing, persecuting, burning, excommunicating, condemning, expelling and anathemising, apostatizing, etc, are all exclusive actions that belong to history not to religion. If history was religion, no religious man would have existed. The implementation of religion in history is a religious target but what version of religion and to whom? History, even the history of salvation, is a peripheral concept, not an essential one. It cannot serve as a matrix in any inter-religious dialogue.

In return, there are essential concepts, which can serve as good matrices for inter-religious dialogue. Instead of Dogma, there is Transcendence, which means etymologically going always beyond, looking always for the summit, tending always towards the infinite. Transcendence frees human minds from dogmatism, fixation, deification and materialism. It is based on the distinction between the finite and the infinite, the visible and the invisible, the seen and the unseen, the material and the formal, ...etc, ***Solvitur in Excelsis***. That is why Leibniz was able to make his Ecumenism. On the top of the mountain, all sides meet. Transcendence as a metaphysical

concept appears as a universal code of ethics, a norm of behavior, a value to cope with. It is equal to rational evidence, to an inclination in the human being to look always for the beyond. In the universal, all the particulars meet. Transcendence protects the equality of all peoples, cultures and religions. They are all equal ***de Jure***. It is a motivation for struggle against all forms of inequality, which may exist ***de facto***. With Transcendence a dialogue becomes possible because all partners are equal. They share a common purpose. They tend towards a common target. Without the spirit of Transcendence, the partners will struggle with each other, every one would pretend to be the holder of the truth. Or, they may stay apart form each other under the pretext of pluralism which makes room for coexistence, not interchange.

The concept of Transcendence leads to another essential concept, that of Unity. Since Transcendence motivates human consciousness to go always beyond, the highest point is only one, the ***Vanculum Substantiale*** of Leibniz. Less than one, dualism, triadism or pluralism gives more possibility for moving, going always beyond to an original unity. Most philosophical systems were in search for unity, the unity of origin is one material element, like the Eleates or in one rational principle, the Idea of Plato or the pure separated form. Mystics were also looking for unity, unity with the Cosmos or unity with God, Panentheism or Pantheism. All romantic philosophers and poets felt this unity in their philosophical systems, Schelling, Fichte and Hegel or in their poetic visions, like Goethe and Schiller. The unity of origin, the unity of destiny, the unity in life, in human personality, between thinking, feeling, saying and doing, in society between social classes and of mankind against all forms of distinctions based on color, race or religion are a different forms of unity. Unity is the essential concept behind all experiences of love, respect, friendship, dedication and sacrifice. In inter-religious dialogue, the unity of the partners is presupposed. The whole dialogue is meant to lift up the differences, to discover the divergences in order to be reoriented towards the convergences.

Instead of rituals, which are peripheral there is the good deed which is essential. Prayers may differ in form, but they are alike in piety. Fasting may differ in quantity but all forms of fasting are alike in quality. The good deed is this one which is agreed upon by all national beings, feeding the hungry, helping the needy, protecting the fragile, greening a desert, bringing water to arid areas. The good deed is the expression of bounty in nature, since nature is good, created by the bounty of God. It is not only the individual deed but also the communitarian one, realizing the maximum common good for all. To serve is a high form of a good deed. To give without return, to initiate without even waiting to be reciprocated, to sacrifice one's self for the sake of the whole, as in martyrdom, is the highest form of the good deed. The good deed is the only criteria of redemption on the last day when every individual will be judged according to his merit. The good deed is the essential concept, which makes any inter-religious dialogue possible.

If dogmas were mysteries beyond human reason, if symbols and images are taken literally, then human reason comes, as an essential concept, which makes interfaith dialogue possible. Human reason after all is what makes human beings able to communicate with each other. It is a natural given, a natural light in every human being, a ***Lumen Naturalis***. The argument of reason is more communicative than the argument of authority, authority of the text, authority of the tradition. Human reason is common while text and tradition are subject to interpretation. Nothing is mysterious in religion. Reason is capable of understanding all that is given to him as an object of reflection. Even God is an act of cognition. Revelation and reason are identical, from the same order. In case of apparent opposition between reason and the scriptures, reason is maintained and scriptures are interpreted in conformity with reason. Scriptures being subjected to different interpretations give only conjecture while reason based on evidence gives certitude. Reason does not admit any tutorship; otherwise it will be a justification of oppression and dictatorship. Reason does not justify a pre-given but

it poses its own given. It is an essential concept in all possible inter-religious dialogue.

Against the institution as a peripheral concept to religion, human freedom comes as an essential concept. The individual is a whole institution, free and autonomous. In Islam, the freedom of the will is the principle of individuation which makes it possible to understand that something else exists different from god and outside him. Human reason can prove that God exists by all possible known demonstrations of the existence of God, ontological, cosmological, teleological, etc, while free will is the only way to prove that the individual exists. I am free, then I am. Islamic ***Cogito*** is a practical one based on human freedom, not on human cognition. That is why Western approach is theoretical. While the Islamic one is practical. The first is epistemological, the second is axiomatic. Human freedom is the prerequisite of individual responsibility, the pre-condition of a just evaluation on the last day according to the law of merit. Man born free, individually responsible for his own deeds, not carrying any wrong doing, an original sin which he did not commit. He can save himself by himself, by his power of cognition to distinguish between right and wrong and by his freedom to choose the right not the wrong, without any need of an external savior. Human freedom is an essential concept for any inter-religious dialogue.

Finally, if history is a peripheral concept, the community is an essential one. The individual is not a nomad living alone but is a member of a community. This communitarian dimension in the individual requires the implementation of social justice through social solidarity and social cohesion, through individual initiative or through social commitment. The public welfare precedes the individual private interest. Human solidarity is a positive value, undeniable by all rational beings. God created all mankind equal. The only difference is in virtue and excellence in performance. Poverty is a man-made phenomena. It can be dealt with through human solidarity. Ownership is more public than private. Man

comes and leaves this world having only his good deeds with him, not his wealth. An interfaith co-operation is not only a matter of mutual understanding, respect and recognition but a matter of common projects for human survival and public welfare, strugglers against drought hunger, disease, ignorance, illiteracy and under-development. These are essential concepts for inter-religious dialogue. They are efficient and productive, away from brotherly mutual embraces and diplomatic exchanges.



Internationalizing the Study of Religion

Methodological Issues

I- The study of religion is one thing and being religious reflecting upon one's own experience is another thing. The first is done by theologians and jurists while the second is practiced by philosophers and mystics. The first is an objective approach, while the second is subjective. The first is a discipline, while the second is an initiation. The first approach stems from the objective analysis of religion to reach its human dimension in theory and in practice, while the second approach stems from the subjective analysis of religion to reach an objective reality, philosophers through reason, mystics through experience.

In Islamic tradition the study of religion as an objective discipline is as old as Islam itself. Islam came out of Judaism and Christianity. It depended on their legacies. The Judeo-Christian tradition was known in Arabia before Islam when Islamic scriptural disciplines began such as ***Qur'an***, ***Hadith***, ***Tafsir***, ***Sira*** and ***Fiqh***, they depended upon necessary information concerning previous prophets.

The question of continuity and discontinuity between Islam from one side and Judaism and Christianity from the other side was

(*) Held at American Academy of Religion (AAR) New Orleans 23-26 November 1996.

asked. The continuity appears in some of the Jewish rituals and laws; pilgrimage, the law of the talion, stoning the adulterous, cutting the hand of the thief, some dietary laws ...etc. It appears in Christian ethics such as love, charity, forgiveness, piety ...etc. This continuous history of Abrahamic religions helped in generating comparative history of religions as discipline.

Since Islamic sources, the ***Qur'an*** and the ***Hadith*** made some critical judgments on the two major previous experiences, Judaism and Christianity, these judgments needed to be historically substantiated. A whole discipline of textual criticism has been built to implement this purpose.

There are three judgments made in Islamic sources on the Judeo-Christian scriptures: [1]

1- A critical judgment concerning the authenticity of the scriptures, that they do not correspond exactly to what the prophets historically said. This generated a whole independent biblical criticism of which Renan recognized that he was one of its disciples before he wrote ***life of Jesus***. Renan wanted to apply in the study of Christian sources the same rules the Muslims did in the study of ***Hadith***. In the beginning of modern times, M. Luther, R. Simon, J. Austric and Spinoza were some disciples of Islamic biblical criticism which was founded to verify the authenticity of the ***Hadith*** paving the way for the logic of oral narratives, the multilateral narrative, since the ***Qur'an*** was written at the same time of its proclamation.

2- A theological judgment concerning the purity of monotheism, that the Jews worshipped the golden calf. They honored Uzeir as if he was God. The Christians worshipped Jesus, the son of Mary, as God or the son of God as it is the case in Trinitarian theology. A rational theology has been developed to prove the impossibility of

(1) Hassan Hanafi: History and verification. A Our'anic view on the Scriptures; also: Certainty and conjecture; A proto-type of Islam-Christian relations in: Religious Dialogue and Revolution, Cairo, Anglo-Egyptian bookshop, Cairo 1977, pp.2 1-68.

incarnation and God's immanence, defending the transcendence of God. Saints cult was exaggerated to the point of worship. Jesus is a mystery, logos and Spirit. No human image can express such mystery. All theologies concerning the person of Christ are more conjectures. They can be understood as figurative speech.

3- There was an ethico-practical judgment concerning the daily practice of the Jews and Christians. A universal ethics cannot be deduced from a particular covenant, unilateral and material. A universal code of ethics requires universal, conditional and spiritual covariant. Monasticism is not a general need for all human beings, but only a private option. The teachings of Jesus are models of perfect life. His person is a global sign for the Jews to believe. Judaism and Christianity were also two religions in the pre-Islamic Arabia. They were analyzed. Judaism was founded by Abraham who was venerated and considered as the father of natural monotheism. The Arabs were his offspring through Ismael [1].

The antagonism between Muslims and Jews in early Islam was for power and wealth not on religious grounds given the similarity between the two religions in the belief and in the law.

Theologians also studied religions in Arabia before Islam: Idolatry and Sabeanism, idols worship and stars worship. Idols and stars, the sun and the moon, were used as intermediaries between man and God, but not real Gods.

Islam did not study only Judaism and Christianity as its two major sources but also studied the neighboring religions of Persia and India where Islam expanded. Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism of Persia, Hinduism and Buddhism of India were studied. Names such as ***Maskaweh*** the scholar of Persia who translated ***Gawid Nameh*** in his ***philosophies perennis***, ***Beiruni*** and his book On India became famous and are considered some of the early founders of history of religions.

(1) The image of Abraham in the Qur'an and the Bible, Op.Cit pp.69-82.

All in and out religions became a part of a discipline called religious sects. It contained two parts: Islamic sects and non-Islamic sects. This discipline corresponds to the modern Western history of religions, the comparative history of religions, or simply the study of religion, as a discipline. Names such as ***Ibn Hazm*** and his famous book ***Al-Fisal Fi Al-Milal Wa Al-Nihal***, ***Al-Sharastani*** and his book ***Al-Milal Wa Al-Nihal*** became treatise model in the field. Other theologians such as ***Al-Ashari*** wrote his treatise in two parts: the first on non-Islamic sects, the second on Islamic sects. ***Al-Kadi Abd Al-Jabbbar*** in his encyclopedia on theology (20 vols.) wrote the first volume on non-Islamic sects, including most of the subdivisions in Judaism and Christianity.

The study of religions was done with complete respect not only for Abrahamic religions but also for all religions. The Sabeans are considered to be from the people of the book such as Jews and Christians since they are loyal to a universal principle and practicing goodness, both are the essence of Islam. Religions were studied in complete objectivity from their primary sources, in the original version or translated into Arabic. They have been perfected and completed in order to cope with Islam.

Rational argumentation is used to see the essence of each religion. Human reason is capable of knowing, proving and arguing. The question how to know precedes the question what to know. Rational knowledge includes senses, feelings and it is the very basis of scriptural knowledge since the scriptures cannot be understood without reason. Jewish studies flourished within Islamic tradition. ***Saadia Gaon*** considered Jewish a belief system similar to the same model as the Islamic one. ***Isaac Israeli***, ***Ben Bakuda***, ***Ibn Gabirol*** and ***Maimonides*** were disciples of Muslim scholars. The golden age of Jewish theology, philosophy, jurisprudence and mysticism was in the Muslim world in general and in Spain in particular.

A dialogue between the three monotheistic faiths occurred, thanks to this free and open inquiry on religion which made possible

convergence through divergence, unity through diversity, diversity in theory and unity in action, conjectures in theory and certainty in action. Even orthodox studies flourished in the Coptic Church stressing an ethical and spiritual version of Christianity based on monophysis and nationalism, the two specific features of the Eastern Church.

All scholars in religion irrespective of their religious affiliation defended a certain kind of a religion of humanity, based on a universal code of ethics, reason and nature, ***Ikhwan A-Safa***, ***Ibn Arabi***, ***Ibn Gabirol***, ***Yehia Ben Ady*** and ***John of Damascus*** are only a few examples.

In modern times, in the Arab and the Muslim world since last century, new studies on religion which came out under the influence of Western history of religions, became obvious in the XIXth century. The same historical method was used to describe religion as a historical phenomena coming out from earth not descending from Heavens. Sociologists, Marxists, rationalists paved the way for a positivistic study of religion which lead to secularism and sometimes to agnosticism, skepticism and atheism. They all defended the Western model, the separation between religion and state, the sacred and the profane, the private and the public, the divine and the human. Muslim and Christian scholars contributed to this new secular approach. Others advocated the equality between male and female in the name of woman liberation and the modern woman. Lately biblical criticism and new hermeneutics were applied in the study of Islamic sources, the ***Qur'an*** and the ***Hadith***, as human texts without denying their divine origin. However, these new studies have been labeled as western (1).

Other scholars found in phenomenology of religion a safe haven to practice the critical thinking, preserving the essence, protecting themselves from historical reductionism. Some even tried

(1) Some names are: Farah Antoun, Ali Abd Al-Razik, Kasim Amin, Salama Mousa.

to lay the grounds for liberation theology, linking dogma to revolution as a part of national liberation movement and the process of decolonization on the cultural level. A third group of scholars tried to link Islamic law to history distinguishing permanence from change, permanence such as justice, equality and freedom, change such as the penal code, inheritance laws and the status of women. Political Islam became recently a wide spread field of research showing how Islam is used by the state as a tool for social stability and the legitimization of the status quo and how it is used by radical opposition groups as a vehicle of protest to change the status quo. Islamic fundamentalism became the favorite topic for most of religious studies [(1)].

II- Internationalizing the study of religion does not mean only the impact of Western methodologies on non-Western studies in religion but implies also the critique of Western methodologies by non-Western scholars. Internationalizing is not a one way process, from the diffusion from the center to the periphery, but also shows the limitations of such expansion and the rejection of the periphery of the hegemony of the center.

In spite of the successive or parallel development of religious studies in the West into different stages: history of religions, comparative history of religions, sociology of religion, anthropology of religion, psychology of religion and the diversification of theology to political, economic, ethical, pastoral and artistic theology, the historical method stemming out of positivism was overwhelmingly dominant. Sociology and anthropology linked history to fieldwork failing mostly in quantitative more than qualitative description. Social sciences have been responsible for a greater part for

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Les Méthodes d'Exégèse, éssai sur la science des fondements de ta compréhension, Ilm Usul al-Fiqh, Le Caire 1965. L'Exégèse de]a phénoménologie, l'etat actuel de la méthode phénoménologique et son application au phénoméne religieux, le Caire, 1966. La phénoménologie de l'éxegèse, essai d'une herméneutique existentielle à partir du Nouveau Testament, Le Caire, 1966. From Dogma to Revolution, a reconstruction of Islamic theology, Cairo, 1988 (5 Vols. Arabic).

reductionism. Phenomenology of religion almost saved the discipline by the description of pure essences and the analysis of language, meaning and things themselves.

The concept of religion upon which Western studies of religion operate is a particular one, which cannot be generalized. Religion is seen as the domain of mysteries, dogmas and mythologies, which goes beyond human reason. It is also the domain of rituals, cult, magic, sorcery and supernatural powers, capable of breaking natural laws. It is the privilege of the sacred books, shrines, places, cities and even things such as prayer-rugs, rosaries, dresses, persons, peoples and history. It is the means of salvation from the sin, the purification of the soul and the internal felicity. This stereotyped image of religion is a particular one, combining Judeo-Christian and primitive traditions. It can not be generalized.

Chinese religion is something related to family, social solidarity and state. Buddhism is more linked to self-perfection, quietude and peaceful life. Islam is more socially and politically oriented. It is based on primitive innocence, individual responsibility and world affirmation.

Therefore, generalizing judgments on religion deduced from a special data is a logical fallacy; faulty generalization, hasty or unrepresentative. A more expanded and equal analysis of religions data permits a more accurate generalization.

Some of the information about certain religions do not come from its primary sources. Many studies on Islam depended on orientalism which itself reflects the minds and the worldview of Western scholars rather than it reveals the object of study, namely Islam. Anthropology took over orientalism and introduced Islam observed. Missionaries, travelers and sometimes mass media participate in offering such data to strengthen the stereotypes the scholar of religion knows in advance. Islam is also considered by Judeo-Christian scholars as a Judeo-Christian heresy, an

amalgamation of Judeo-Christian traditions in Arabia, similar to Arabian nights.

Some results in the field of religious studies are more like reifications such as: animism, fetishism, totemism, sorcery, sacerdoce, clericalism ...etc. Animism is a projection from the mind of the scholar dissociating the spirit from the matter. Fetishism is also another projection from person sanctification on things by silent negation. Totemism is also a projection based on the dissociation between the sacred and the profane. Sorcery is a negation of reason and casual relation on which the scholar has been educated. Sacerdoce is a judgment based on a secular mind. This is what ***Bergson*** called ***la religion statique***, what ***Levy-Bruhl*** labeled as ***mentalite primitive*** and ***Claude Levi Strauss*** as ***pensee sanuvage*** and which ***Durkheim*** studied in his ***formes elementaires de la vie religieuse***.

Sometimes religion in the subconscious of Western scholar means mysticism and spiritual life, which has nothing to do with the material world. The sacred has nothing to do with the profane. Religion saves while the world falls. Islam is seen as less spiritual because it deals with the world, nutrition and sex in this world and in the other world. Such a judgment reveals a puritan mind where Puritanism surfaces, while materialism lies deep.

However, a common notion of religion based on rational analysis of beliefs and actions is more likely to internationalize the study of religion, a converging point between classical Islamic studies and Western studies still loyal to enlightenment. Islam is a religion of autonomous reason and its permanent nature, man enjoying his freedom and individual responsibility, society, social justice and progress in history. These Islamic components are the same ideals of the enlightenment.

The destruction of reason, deconstructionism and postmodernism would make internationalizing the study of religion a difficult task.

The West may have passed the age of enlightenment; the Muslim world is still going into it. The real stumbling block for internationalizing the study of religion is the historical phase Western and non-Western cultures are going through, one ends and others begin.



Jerusalem

in

The Arab-Jewish Writings

I- A Political and Religious City

Jerusalem is a Canaanite city, foundation of God Shalern, according to Akkadian documents in the XIV century as stated in the Letters of Tal-al-Amarna. It was never Jewish. The Jebusites who were driven out of the city inhabited it and fought for it. Jebuse was the name of Jerusalem (1).

According to the Old Testament narratives, the sacrifice of Abraham with his son Isaac was on the mount Moria, one of the four mountains of the city. According to other Arab narratives, the sacrifice was in Mekka with his son Ismail. It was the city of Melchisadeq, contemporary of Abraham (2).

Content analysis of the Old Testament shows that Jerusalem was not mentioned in the Pentateuch, more in Chronicles II as events and in Jermia as a desire. Jerusalem has a relative presence in the Old Testament and oscillates in Jewish consciousness between invasion and dream.

(*) Proceedings of the International Congress: Palestine in the light of Papyri and Inscription, Ain Shams University, 5-9 September 1998, Cairo 2000, pp. 153-163.

(1) Josh. 15:8; 18:28; Judg. 1:21; 19:10; 2 Sam. 5:6; 1 Ch. 11:4.

(2) Gn. 14, 18 ss. 2 Ch 3,1.

Jerusalem was a pagan city in the time of the judges after the Israelis failed to occupy it. It had no religious significance before the prophets [1].

David took it from the Jebuseens calling it the citadel of David. He fortified it and made it the political capital of the kingdom, transferring to it the ***Arch of the Covenant***, as his personal ownership, not that of the twelve tribes. God dwells in it on the mount of Zion. He instituted the confederate sanctuary, which was before in Silo. Nathan promise made the city a place of residence. Solomon continued the work of his father, and constructed the temple dedicating it to him [2]. Even if David took the city and built his house in it and Solomon continued his work, their residence in the city was limited in time as well as all other kings, each one 16 years maximum [3].

In Josephus, Jerusalem is mentioned as a city of wars since he was a historian. Jerusalem had a Jebusite king. Joshua fought and took the city from him. Then the city was taken by David and afterwards by the Babylonians. It was taken and besieged by Pompey, Herod, Sosius and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. It has been taken many times by wars. The city paid tributary to the Romans and was leveled to the ground. King of Syria Demetrius, declared the city holy, inviolable and free. Two citadels have been built in. It is in the middle of Judea. It was set on fire by the Romans [4].

II- An Earthly and Heavenly City

Jerusalem is described in the Bible as the place where God expressed his anger against Israel [5]. Because of Israel's infidelity

(1) Judg. 19, 11s; 1:21.
(2) 2 Sam. 5, 6 ss; 1 ki. 6-8.
(3) 2 Sam. 12:31; 20:3; 1ki. 9:19; 11:42; 15:10, 1 Ch. 6:10; 6:32; 2 Ch. 9: 1; 27:1,8; 28:1.2 Sam. 5, 6 s; 1 ki. 6-8.
(4) Josephus, Antiq. VII, 111; sec. 2, X, XII, 4, VIII, sec. 2 XIV, 2, XVI, sec. 2, 4; war, VI, X, 6, V, IV.
(5) Ps. 78,68s; 132, 13-18.

and the disobedience of its kings and peoples to the Law, the kingdom was split into two: Judea in the north, Samaria in the south. Jerusalem was a weak capital of the north challenged by Samada. Ezechiel tried to use the city to unify the Israelis but Sancherib took it. Josias tried to assemble the Israelis around the sanctuary in memory of David [1].

God rejected the city which he elected because it became a city of infidelity to God which will determine its destiny. Its kings worshiped idols and persecuted the prophets. The priests disobeyed the prophetic teachings and left idols in the temple. The people of Israel were also disloyal to God, making alliances with the pagans and disobeying the Law. The city was prostituted. It became a place for God's revenge. For Isaie only a remnant will be saved. Jeremia foresaw for Jerusalem the same destiny as Silo. Ezechial also foresaw its punishment because God decided to abandon it. He brought evil on the city to express his wrath. Jerusalem is ruined and Judea fell. It was also burned in fire and furnace [2]. Therefore fidelity and piety conditioned the election of Jerusalem. Once it became a city of infidelity and impiety the election is abandoned [3].

Nabuchadnosor invaded all Israel including Jerusalem. During the Babylonian captivity Jerusalem became a new city of faith and justice, the Miessianic City as in Ezechiel. It is the same meaning in the New Testament, the city of Salvation. The destruction of Jerusalem was the fulfillment of a Divine promise and prophetic oracis. Israel has to confess its culpability [4].

However, the prophets foresaw also another Jerusalem. Isaie saw it after the temptation as a city of justice and fidelity. Jeremia

(1) 1 ki, 11-12, 26-33, 16,24; 2 ki. 18, 1-4;2; Ch 29-31; 2 ki.18, 13-19, 36; Ps. 48, 5-9; 2 ki. 22, 1-23, 25.

(2) 2 ki. 16, 2ss; 21, 3-9; Zch. 24,21; Jr.36-38,20; 2 ki. 21, 45, 7; Ez. 8;Is. 1, 16s; Jr. 7, 8ss, 1, 2 1; Is. 4, 25; Jr. 7,14; Ez. II, 1-12, 23, 24, 1-14, 10, 18ss; 2ki. 21:12-13; 1ch. 21:15; Isa. 3:8; 31:9.

(3) 2 Ch. 6:6; 33:7.

(4) 1 Ez. 9, 1-10, 7; Lm. 1-2; Ps.79; Ezra, 1:7.

foresaw the day when the people of Israel worship God again. Ezechiel foresaw the reconstruction of the city, a paradise on earth, open to the twelve tribes. This dream was developed during captivity in a messianic spirit and expressing a strong desire for future salvation. It became a heavenly city (1).

After Cyrus edict, the earthly city has been gradually constructed and the prophets declared it as a religious universal center of the world. The distance between the two earthly and heavenly cities became minimal. However, the earthly city continued to suffer. Its walls were still ruined and needed Nehemia to restore it. But it lost its entire political role, which did not exceed 100 years during David and Solomon (2).

Heavenly Jerusalem became a city of peace after it was a place of war. Its gates and fortresses are now in the heart. God does not dwell in a city but eternity is felt in time (3).

Afterwards, Jerusalem had only a religious significance. It became a place of orientation to Jews, a ***Quibla*** for pilgrimage and to sing the glory of god, a spiritual manifestation of God on earth, a city of peace and security. The last prophets conceived it as an eschatological sign for all mankind, not only for the Jews. It became the symbol of final salvation. Afterwards, the city suffered again under the rule of the king of Antiochus who profanted it. However the city continued to be in the apocalyptic writings a heavenly city, a spiritual place, a city of future if the present is still hard. The Heavenly City is the real one, while the earthly city is only a transfiguration. God is the perfect king of the city. David is the imperfect one. The city will be resurrected as a symbol of the Transcendence of God, then coming back to earth, purified and supplimated as an image of Divine Presence, the famous philosophical dialectics between

(1) Is.1, 26s, Jr. 31, 16, 12, Ez. 40-46, 47, 1-48, 29-35; Is.51, 17-52.2,54-11s, 54, 4-10, 54, 1, ss, 49, 14-26.
(2) Ag. 2,6-9; Is. 60, 62, 65, 19, 66, 6-14; Ps. 51, 20; 102, 14-18; Ne. 1-12, 13.
(3) Ps. 122:6.

Transcendence and Immanence (1).

The remnant will come out of Jerusalem, those for whom the whole world will be saved, the minority saving the majority, quality is redeeming quantity (2).

III- An Open City

The image of Jerusalem in the Old Testament varies from a book to another according to its role in history. It is dominant in 1Ch. Because of the Jewish war against the inhabitants of the city, and in Jeremia because of his lamentations on the infidelity of Israel and the possible destruction of the city. God punished Jerusalem by the sword (3).

Jerusalem was first a city of war. The preposition "against" is relatively used. The walls of Jerusalem are built for the fortification as well as the towers and the gates (4). Verbs of war are also used even verbs of ethnic cleansing, besieged, wiped, delivered, purged, fortified, built, defended, deceived, punished, taken into captivity, destroyed (5). Children of Judea fought against Jerusalem. Bones were burned and peoples were cleansed (6). That is why Jerusalem is also a city of lamentation as expressed in the vocative form "O Jerusalem! Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation". This sorrow in the soul created the New Jerusalem, the Ideal one, the peaceful Mankind (7).

(1) Dn. 6,11; Ps.122, 84; Si. So, 1-21; Ps. 46, 48, 87,147, 12ss; Jl. 4, 9-17; Is. 25, 6ss; Za. 12, 14; Tb. 13; Ba. 4, 30, 1M.1, 36-40.

(2) 2ki. 19:31.

(3) Number of repetitions of the word Jerusalem in the O.T. as follows: 2Ch. (125); Jer. (111); 2 ki. (59); Isa. (49); Ezra (48); Zech. (39); Neh. (39); Sam. (30); 1 ki. (29); Eze.(27); 1 Ch. (23); Psa. (17); Dan. (10); Josh. (9); Song (8); Mich. (8); Lam. (7); Joel (7); Judg. (5); Ecel. (5); Zeph. (4); Obad. (2); Mal. (2); 1 Sam (1); Esth. (1); Jer. 44:13.

(4) Jer. (6); Zech. (5); Judg. (2); 2Ch. (2); 2ki. (2); 1ki. (1); Neh.(1). 1ki. 3:1; 9:15; 2ki. 14:13; 25:10; 2Ch.25:23; 26:9; 36:19; Neh.1.3; 2:13,17; 3:8; 4:7; 7:3; 12:27, 29; Ps. 51:18; Isa. 62:6, Jer. 39:8.

(5) 2Ch. Sam. 2:24.

(6) Judg. 1:8; 2Ch. 34:5.

(7) Isa. (5); Jer. (4); Ps.(4) ;Ps. 116:9; 122:2; 137:5-,147:12; Isa.52:1; 52:1-2; 62:6; Isa. 64:10; Jer. 4:14; 15:5.

Jerusalem is not a place but it is inhabitants. That is why the preposition "of" is repeatedly used [1]. Jerusalem is a place to dwell in. The "daughters of Jerusalem" is a common expression as well as the children of Judah, children of Israel. Jerusalem is a community. Space is time. The immobility of the space is only the carrier of the mobility of time [2]. The inhabitants are the kings [3].

Jerusalem is an open city. Its inhabitants come in and go out. Prepositions of movement such as from, to, at, in indicate the movement of the inhabitants from a place to another, to settle in and as well as. Books with many prepositions are the historical books, while books of wisdom are less. The book of songs is free from any preposition since it is an exaltation of the soul. The same thing applies to the book of lamentation [4].

IV- A ritualistic City

In the ***Mishnah*** Jerusalem appears as a place of rituals. In ***Zeraim***, in the produce not certainly tithed, in tithes, in second tithes, in Dough offering and in first fruits. It is a place where a community shares its products. In ***Moed*** Jerusalem is a place of

(1) As follows: Jer. (52); 2Ch. (25); Neh. (12); Isa. (10); Zech. (10); Eze. (8); 2ki. (9); Mich. (3); Song (71); Josh. (6); Psa. (4); Eze. (4); Sam. (3); 1k (3); Ezra (3); Mich. (3); Dan. (2); Zeph. (2); Amos (1); Obad. (1); Mal. (1).

(2) Josh. 15; 63; 1 ki. 2:38; 2 ki. 19:21; 2 ki. 23:2; 1Ch. 9:3; 2Ch. 21:11-13; 22:1; 30:21; 32:22; 32:26,33; 9; 34:30; 32; 35:18; Ezra. 4:6,7:15; Scing. 1:5; 2:7; 3:5; 33 3:10; 5:8; 5:16: 8:4, 1 s. 5:3; 8:14; 22:21; Jer. 4:4; Jer. 8:1; 11:2; 11:9; 11:12; 13:13; 15:5; 17:25; 19:3; 25:2; 32; 32; 35:13; 35:17; 42:18; 51:35; Lam. 2:13, 15. Eze. 11:15. 12:19; 15:6; Dan. 9:7; Joel, 3:6; Mic. 4:8; Zeph. 1:4; Zech. 12:7, 8, 13:1.

(3) Josh. 10: 1,3,5,23,12:10.

(4) The analysis of the propositions is as follows:
2 Ch. in (47); to (25); at (19); on (4), over (1). Jer. from (9); in (6); to (6); about (2). 2ki. in (24); to (4), at (2); for (2); from (1); before (1). Isa. in (7); to (8); from (2); for (2); on (1). Ezra. to (17); at (13); in (11); over (1); throughout (1).Neh. at (8); to (5); in (5); over (1). Sam. to (10); in (6); at (4); upon (1). 1ki. in (13); to (4); at (2); from (1); before (1). Eze. to (3); in (3); on (3); for (1). 1Ch. in (10); to (8); at (3); over (1). Psa. at (92); in (2); about (2). Dan. at (1); in (1); to (1); on (1); towards (1). Josh. at (2). Mich. to (1); from (1); with (1). Joel. of (1); from (1). Judg. to (1); in (1). Eccl. in (5). Amos. of (1). Obad. upon (10). Mal. in (1). Sam. to (1). Esth. from (1).

Sabbath, the fusion of Sabbath limits, the Passover, the ***shekel*** dues, the day of atonement, the feast of tabernacles, the feast of the new year, the days of fasting, the scroll of Easter, and the festal offering. It is a place of folklore. In ***Nashim***, the legal state of women is described in Jerusalem concerning sisters in law, marriage deeds, vows, the suspected adulteress and the bills of divorce. In ***Nezikim*** the judiciary aspect of the inhabitants is exposed: the Sanhedrin, the testimonies and idolatry. The first gate of Jerusalem is mentioned. In ***kodashim*** religious rituals are described as practiced in Jerusalem such as: Animal offerings, norms of valuation, extirpation and the daily whole offering. In ***Tohorot*** cleanliness practices are described in Jerusalem such as: Vessels, leprosy signs red heifer, immersion pools and predisposers. Therefore, Jerusalem in the ***Mishnah*** had no political significance whatsoever. It is a mere space, a measure, a city with destructed walls [(1)].

In the ***Talmud***, the status of Jerusalem is similar to the one in the ***Mishnah*** [(2)]. The city is a construction of a public domain after being destroyed. It has gates, courtyards, elegant circles, and full of houses and beautiful homes.

The material life is described as boundaries for bringing fruits, breeding hens, fuel logs, gold and silver, ornaments, inspectors of blemishes, exchanging coins.

The inhabitants of the city went out and came in the city as an open city. Compulsory migration has been sometimes imposed on them. It is the residence of holy and noble community of men and women, daughter and sons. Living in the city was never for a long

(1) Dem. 1:2; 6:4; Mass. 2:3, 5, 10; M. Sh. 1:1, 5; 2:2; 4:9; 3:1, 3-6, 9; 5, 2; Hall. 4:11; Bikk. 2:2, 10; 3:3. Shab, 23:1; Erub. 6:2; 10:9; Pes. 3:8; 7:3; 8:3; Shek. 7:2-4; 8:1-2; Yom. 6:4, 6, 8; Sukk. 3:8; 4:5; 5:3; R. Sh. 1:7; 2:5; 4:2; Taan. 2:4; 3:6, 8; 4:2,8; Meg. 1:11; Hag. 1:1; 3:6; Yeb. 4:13; 8:4; Ket. 2:9; 4-12; 13: 1; Ned. 1:3; 3:10; Sot. 1:4; 9:16, 2, 5, 9-10; Gitt. 6:7; 9:8; B.K. 7:7; Sanh. 8:2; 11: 4; Eduy. 1:3, 10; 2:3; 5:8; 6:1; Ab. 1:4; 5:5; Zeb. 14:8; Men. 10:2,5; 13:10; Arak. 5:1; 9:6; Ker. 1:7; 3:8; Tam. 5:6; Kel. 1:8; 6:2; Neg. 12:4; Par. 3:2; Mikw. 4:5; Naksh. 1:6; Taan. 4:6; Men. 7:1,2.

(2) Jerusalem is mentioned in the Talmud around 410 times in all books, and linked with its material and social functions around 65 times.

time. The inhabitants were always moving. There were no permanent settlements.

The social life in the city was concentrating on books readings, judiciary practices in courts of law, a place for pilgrimage, judges, roll of records, some religious rituals were practiced such as vows and mournings. In all these functions Jerusalem did not have any particular religious or political significance.

In the *Midrash*, Jerusalem is also a city constructed and destroyed. It is a city under construction. It can be under siege [1].

It is also a city of inhabitants and of social life. There are councilors and courts. The inhabitants are men and women. Peoples leave the city more than they come in to the point of populousness of the city due to expulsion.

The inhabitants have their social life: festivals, exchanging gifts and enjoying wisdom. They have also their religious life. Jerusalem is the city of prophets, a sanctuary, a city of parity for prayer, expiating sins and synagogues.

The city has different names. It has been elected in time to become a resurrected city. In all these functions there was no political significance for the city whatsoever.

Jerusalem was never mentioned in Zohar even the heavenly one. Zohar was concentrating on the esoteric meaning and cities. Zohar deals more with time than space.

V- A Universal City

The same meaning appears in the Jewish Arab writings: Isaac the Israeli, Ibn Bakuda, Saadia Gaon, and Maimonides, in Iraq,

(1) Jerusalem is repeated in the Midrash as follows:
Lam. 8; Num. 7; ss. 4; Eccl. 3; Ex. 2; Est.,Gen., Deut. (1). Lam. 37; Ess.193;Num. 776; Lam. 169, 173, 175, 179; Est. 28; Gen. 38. ss. 286f; Ex. 388; Lam. 167; Num. 734; Ex. 186, 289, 581; Lam. 216, 218 f; Num. 620; Lam. 69 ff. ss. 191, 196; Lam. 182; ss. 72; Num. 193 ff; 848; Num. 69; Deut. 20; Lam. 101 ff; 116, 134, 186, 220, 222, 226, 237; Eccl. 193; Num. 848; s.s. 244; Eccl. 1, 3; Lam. 73ff.

Egypt, Tunis and Andalousia. Jerusalem is a symbol of spirituality, of peace in the soul, not of war and ethnic cleansing. This is the meaning which was also expressed in the ***Qur'an***, the intermediary passage between earth and heavens from Mekka to Jerusalem and from Jerusalem to heavens in the famous night journey of the prophet Mohammed [(1)]. The name of the city is not mentioned by the mosque to indicate the religious significance of the city. It was the first ***Quibla*** in Islam before ***Mekka***.

In Jewish Arab writings, Jerusalem does not have any particular significance, neither earthly nor heavenly. In the "Guide for the perplexed" of Maimonides it is not even mentioned. Jerusalem is a mental creation of the ***Diaspora*** not of the ***Alia*** [(2)]. In the ***khusari*** of Judah Halévi, Jerusalem is a heavenly city, a desire in the heart for return.

Jerusalem was not mentioned at all in the major works of Isaac Israeli, nor in those of Saadia Gaon, such as his commentaries on ***sepher Yesira*** or book of creation, or in his ***al-Amanat wa al-I'tiquadat***, even in the last chapter on eschatology and salvation where Jerusalem could have been a symbol of resurrection. Jerusalem was completely absent in his commentaries on Jacob and Isaie on his book on the proverbs [(3)].

(1) Glory to God who did take his servant for a journey by night, from the sacred mosque to the farthest mosque whose precincts We did bless" (17:1).

(2) Maimonides: The Guide for the Perplexed, Trans. From the original Arabic text by N. Friedländer, Dover, New York, 1956.
Maimonides: Epistles, Trans. and notes by Abraham Halkin, the Jewish publication society, Philadelphia, Jerusalem, 1993.
Maimonides: Le Livre de la Connaissance, trad. De l' hebreu et annoté par Valentin Nikipowetzky et Andre Zaoui, P. U. F. Paris, 1961.

(3) A. Attmann, SS. Stern: Isaac Israeli, A new-platonic philosopher of the early tenth century, his works trans. With comments and an outline of his philosophy, Oxford University Press, 1958.
Le Gaon Saadya al - Faiyyoumi, Sefer Yesira on Livre de la création, trad. Par Nayer Lambert.
- Kitab al-Amanat wa al-I'tiquadat, version Arabe.
- Arabic version of his commentary on Jacob and Isaie.
- Arabic version of his commentary on Torah.

The image of Jerusalem in ***Arab Judaism*** as the ideal city, a symbol of justice and security is the same image in Western enlightenment by Spinoza and mendelsohn [1]. Jerusalem is the old Athens and the New Jerusalem [2].

Arab Jewish writings expressed this Islamic view on Jerusalem ***Quds*** holiness, from the verb ***Qaddasa*** which means to sanctify. In the ***Qu'ran***, it is used as a verb, which means to sanctity. It is an attribute of God ***Quddus*** (2 times), of the Holy Spirit ***Qudus*** concerning Jesus (4 times) and of the Holy valley ***Muquadass*** (2 times) and of the Holy Land ***Muquadassa*** (1 time). It is an attribute of God, the Soul and Earth.

To conclude, Jerusalem had no religious or political significance whatever for Israel before David. It lost its significance after the cession and its invasion by the Babylonian and Assyrian kings till Roman occupation and before the Arab rule.

Contemporary Zionism returns to invade Jerusalem as in the time of David and Solomon, which never exceeded 100 years, Jerusalem of wars and destruction described by Josephus. It is up to the actual Jews and Arabs which Jerusalem they want for the present and for the future.

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(1) The word is mentioned in the Qur'an 10 times, 9 times as nouns and one time as verb. ***Qudus*** 2:87, 253; 5: 110; 16: 102; ***Quddus*** 59: 23; 62: 1; ***Muquadass*** 20:12; 79: 16; ***Muquadassa*** 5: 21; ***Muquadiss*** 2: 30.

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What does the Qur'an as a sacred text mean?

Some primary observations

I- The word sacred, is used in the Qur'an as an adjective more than a verb. It is used mainly to describe the Spirit, the Holy Sprit ***Ruh Quddus***, an epithet of Christ, the Holy Land or Valley ***Wadi Muqaddas***, ***Ard Muqaddasa***, an Attribute of God ***Quddus***. As a verb ***Nuqaddis*** is only used to describe Angels act. The sacred is first the spirit, Jesus Christ the second, third God and fourth Angels act [1]. The sacred is not a book as in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the sacred Books, the Holy Scripture. The land is sacred before God is. God is sacred after the spirit and the land. To sanctify is not the act of man but of the angel. A man only does.

a- In Western literature the sacred is a special domain distinct from the profane which is not sacred, the same religions/secular dichotomy. While in Islam every thing is sacred, inside and outside the mosque, acts of praying, fasting, ***Hajj*** and human acts during the rest of the day, the month of ***Ramadan*** and of ***Hajj*** are sacred as the rest of the months of the year.

(*) Louvain, Belgium, May 2002.

(1) The word appears in the Qur'an 9 times *Quddus* (4), *Muqadass* (3), *Quddus* (1), ***Nuqaddis*** (1).

b- While in Arabic there is only one word ***Muqaddas*** and its derivatives, in French one word ***le sacré*** in German one word ***Dass Heilige***, there are two words in English the sacred and the holy, a distinction in knowledge, the holy for religion, the sacred is more for anthropology.

II- There are at least three degrees of sacredness:

a- The Qur'an as a sacred text ***in verbatim***. The meaning and the word are revealed. In the case of the Gospels, the writers are only inspired and they chose the words from their own milieu. If he is a fisher he uses the language of fishermen. If he is a shepherd he uses the language of the shepherds. If he is a prince, like Moses, he uses the royal language of the palace ....etc. In Judeo-Christian Scriptures there is no distinction between revelation and inspiration, between Christ ***ipsisma verba*** and the apostles including Paul who did not see Christ or hear him.

b- The ***Hadith Qudsi*** is also revealed to the prophet ***in verbatim*** but not included in the Qur'an. It is more narrative, imaginative, theosophic, speculative and prolix than the Qur'an. The purpose is more educative to the prophet first and to the people second. The wisdom behind this sacred type of sacred text is unclear. Given the type of such text one can presume that its aim was the personal education of the prophet and to make a balance between norms, laws and rules of the Qur'an with a more mystical approach to revelation. The Qur'an would be similar to ***Halaqa***, the ***Hadith Qudsi*** to ***Hagada*** in Jewish literature.

c- The ***Hadith*** is the personal commentaries of the prophet to precise and to clarify some Qur'anic verses. That is why some ***Hadiths*** include some Qu'anic verses. It is not revelation ***in verbatim*** but only in the meaning. The authority of the ***Hadith*** comes from the authority of the Qur'an. The Qur'an is required then the ***Hadith***. The wisdom behind this third type of sacred text is clear. The Qur'an

confined itself to the general principles and the ***Hadith*** gave more details. The Qura'an gave the theoretical guidelines and the ***Hadith*** precised the mode of application.

III- The Qur'an has several synonyms. Each name refers to a degree of sacredness. According to their repetitions following the rules of content analysis they are:

a- ***Al-Kitab*** is not an object but a whole individual and historical process. It is a Book of learning, reading, knowing and teaching. It is a clear, evident and precise book in its major guidelines with some equivocity for new interpretations according to different times. Knowing is not wishful thinking but an objective structure of the book, a socio-political structure. It is a book of wisdom and law, reason and reality. It came down to earth, given to mankind for commitment as an individual, conditional and moral covenant. It is also history given the unity of revelation. Every phase confirms the precedent one and encompasses it. Moses ***par excellence*** is the holder of the book confirmed by Jesus and Mohammed. ***Ahl al-Kitab*** are the holders of the book. Its unity preserves it from divergences or discord. It is also the book of responsibilities, a written witness for merit and worthiness as Hegel observed ***Weltgeschichte is weltgericht***. What is written in the book is world history. That is why it cannot be totally or partially hidden or tampered with(1).

b- ***Al-Qur'an*** is used like a definite noun more than indefinite, not related to possessive pronouns. It is an act of piety intertwined with ***Ramadan***, with human energy. However, the Qur'an descends, is read, revealed, meditated, received, heard, recited, remembered ...etc. It is also clarifies. It portrays laws of history(2). It

(1) The word ***Kitab*** and its derivatives is mentioned in the Qur'an 266 times. The book ***al-Kitab*** (230), a book ***kitaban*** (12), his book ***Kitabuhu*** (5), books ***Kutub***, my book ***kitabiya***, your book ***kitabuka***, your books ***kitabukum***, our book ***kitabuna*** her bok ***kitabuha***, their book ***kitabuhum***.

(2) The word ***al-Qur'an*** is metioned 70 times, ***al-Qur'an*** (58), ***Qurana*** (10), his Qur'an (2).

is the formulation of the progress already stated in the Torah and the Gospel. It is an objective norm, historically authentic. That is why it is a criteria of divergences. It carries all the prototypes of future events. It has its own ***genre literaire***, distinct from poetry.

c- ***Al-Furqan***, means the divider, the divider between right and wrong. The ***Furqan*** is a method of distinction. The same word is added to the Torah and the ***Injil***. It is also guidance and warning [(1)].

d- Many other metaphores are used to illustrate the presence of the Qur'an as Declaration ***Bayan***, guidance ***Hoda***, light ***Nur***, mercy ***Rahmah***, Wisdom ***Hikmah***, Warning ***Nathir***, Good news ***Bushra*** Advise ***Maw'iza*** .... etc. All of them indicate the relation between the Qur'an and the consciousness, the Qur'an as an Intention, as an intentional horizon. The Qur'an is a content not a form, an action not a text. The sacred is not the text but the intention, not the word but human intentionality.

IV- The other sacred books have less synonymy such as the Torah ***attawrah***, the Gospel ***al-Injil*** and the Psalms ***Azzabour***, the books ***assuhuf*** of Abraham and Moses. According to Biblical criticism ***Abaham*** had a book called ***Ma'asa Abraham***, the life of Abraham where many stories similar to Qur'anic narratives exist such as Abraham destruction of the idols.

a- ***Attawrah*** refers only to the book of Moses, the Tablets, including the law. It is mostly connected to ***Injil***, then to the law. Both books descended from God. They are also connected to the book and the wisdom. Abraham is the father of all. The Torah also contains guidance and light Nur. The Qur'an confirms the two previous books and liberates mankind from the stiffness of the law given the perfection of man, with the autonomy of reason and the freedom of the will.

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(1) The word ***furqan*** is mentioned 6 times, ,for the torah and ***Injil*** (2), for the Qur'an only (4).

b- ***Al-Injil*** is connected to the ***Tawrat*** being one revelation. The ***Injil*** is a confirmation of the Torah as the Qur'an is a confirmation of both the ***Injil*** and the ***Tawrat***. All descend from God. All are guidance, light and wisdom. All are to be implemented in society as socio-political structure. They contain the promise, the law of history.

c- ***Zabur*** is the book of David namely the Psalms. Each prophet has a prestige and Dawud's prestige is ***Zabur***. The covenant in the ***Zabur*** is offered to the pious obediants to God who will inherit the whole Earth. ***Zabur*** in plural is a generic term which means the previous books containing clarifications, ***Bayyinat*** and light. It contains also all the ethical norms of people's behavior[1].

d- ***Suhuf*** means books, already in plural. They mean the early books of revelation, the books of Abraham and Moses or of Moses alone. They are pure and venerated books. There are other open books where all human deeds are recorded, an image of accountability.

e- ***Alwah*** mostly in plural refer only to the tablets of Moses where there is an advise for every thing. They were thrown when Moses was in wrath pulling his brother from the beard because the people of Israel worshiped the golden calf in his absence. They were taken again when Moses wrath calmed down. The term Law refers to the original Qur'an, the preserved tablet before descending as Qur'an.

V- Space is within the Qur'an as sacred text, the early circumstances which required revelation. The Qur'anic text has a context not from within the text but from without, namely reality, called in classical expression ***Asbab al-Nuzul***. Revelation does not come except after a call, an appeal, at request. A question asked, revelation replies. No question, no answer. A problem emerges in society.

(1) The word ***Zabur*** is mentioned in the Qur'an 8 times, plural (6), singular (2), linked to David (2).

Many solutions are proposed without the ability to choose one. Revelation comes as a preponderant factor to choose one more than others which usually corresponded with Qmar's choice. That is why Omar was named *Munajjim*, the diviner of the Muslim Ummah. Sacredness here is contextual. A question from a person or a group, a social problem that needs a solution. The solution offered by revelation was known by the simple reason. Revelation, reality and reason are identical. They are three dimensions of the same thing. They are inter-changeable. If revelation is sacred, reality and reason are also sacred.

a- When space varies, revelation also varies. Revelation came in three different places, Mekka, Medina and the road from Mekka to Medina. Revelation in Mekka was theoretical, giving the general Worldview of Islam : The existence of God, the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul to be judged according to its merit. Even in aesthetics, Mekka verses are short, imaginative, persuasive, eschatological, dogmatic, impressive ....etc, while Medina verses are more legalistic, rational, dialectical, socio-political and prolix. Revelation in content and in form changed according to space. Sacredness here means the priority of reality on revelation, of the context on the text and the impact of the change of space on revelation, content and form.

b- Revelation came in several places, Iraq (Noah, Abraham), Palestine (Jacob, Isaac, David, Solomon, Jesus) Egypt, (Moses, Joseph), Hijaz (Abraham, Mohammed). The geography of site was contained in revelation: the idols of Iraq, the temple of Salomon, the palace of the Pharaoh in Egypt, the dry valley in Hijaz ...etc. Revelation describes the geography of the space. If Revelation is sacred so geography described in revelation is also sacred. Surely, the carried is not the carrier, the significance is not the sign, the essence is not the fact. However, the sanctity of the body comes from the sanctity of the spirit. the sacredness of the world is derived from the sacredness of God.

c- Narratives inform about peoples and Qur'anic cultures in the past like *'Ad and Thamud*. History is a part of revelation. The Pharoah, and Haman are historical context for the revelation to Moses. Lot and his people, Joseph and his brothers, Noah and his son, Abraham and his father, Mohammed and his enemies like Abu Lahab and his friends like Abu-Bakr are mentioned in revelation. If revelation is sacred, the historical context of revelation is also sacred. That is why there is sacred history and holy family.

VI- Time exists also within revelation, called *Naskh*. Revelation developed through time form Adam till Mohammed. Revelation came in different periods of history according to the progress of mankind and to push it one-step further. The final phase ended a long history of revelation and declared the autonomy of human reason and will. Reason is capable to know and will is capable to decide. Both work on their own without an external help from revelation as a source of knowledge or from Divine Will through miracles as a source of power. The three big phases are Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Christianity abrogates Judaism and Islam abrogates both Christianity and Judaism in law not in worldview. If the essence of the law is the same all legal forms can be maintained, law or love, punishment or forgiveness. Islam is the free choice between the law of talion and lovely neighbor. Jews and Christians can stay practicing their respective phases of revelation if they do not want to reach the final phase. It is a matter of choice between the seeds, the trunk or the leaves. The sacredness of revelation is in time not outside time. If revelation is sacred, development is also sacred.

a- Abrogation occurs also within revelation in the last phase. Development occurs on a long range: Judaism, Christianity and Islam or in a short span within the development of Islam itself. The Qur'an has been revealed partially and gradually during 23 years. It

is not an apocalypse, one vision sent once for all, but a dialectical movement between revelation and time. Since time changes, revelation also changes. Revelation is measured according to human capacity to know experimentally what is feasible. Any law which goes beyond human capacity is abrogated. Any law which is below human capacity is also abrogated. Abrogation can be from the harsh to the lenient or from the lenient to the harsh. Abrogation is done gradually as a means of education and training, till revelation becomes identical to nature. If revelation is sacred, time, development, progress, human capacity are also sacred.

b- ***Ijtihad***, the fourth source of law follows the same rule, the intrusion of space, time and individual effort of understanding within the sacred text. Human reason implements the same purpose as Divine will, the adaptation of the sacred to the profane, the realization of Eternity in time.

c- Revelation has four degrees of realization in time, being a whole spectrum between the universal and the particular. The Qur'anic text is the most universal, corresponding to human nature itself, to the conformity of human experience, to people's wisdom as expressed in the folklore and in popular proverbs in particular. Revelation is identical to nature. The ***Hadith*** is a second particularization with more human input and more details in time and space which can serve as proto-types of repeated situations. ***The Ijma'*** is a third concretization of revelation, ***Vox Deii Vox Populi***. The ***Ijtihid*** is the fourth and last one, a self-confidence in human understanding. Revelation and reason are identical.

VII- Revelation is not only meanings but also words, not only ideas but also language. Since revelation is given in time and space for a special people speaking a determined language, it expressed itself in the language of the people to whom revelation came. In the case of the Qur'an it is Arabic since revelation came in Arabian peninsula to the Arabs. Revelation which is Divine and sacred is

embedded in a language such as Arabic, developed in history and has nothing to do with the Divine or with the sacred. Arabic language contained Persian, Ethiopian and Roman Arabized words. If the meaning is sacred, is language also sacred? If God taught Adam the language known as ***Tawqif***, it is sacred. But if language is a convention ***Istilah***, then it is not sacred.

a- The Qur'an refers to religions in Arabian Peninsula before Islam such as Judaism, Christianity, Sabeanism, Brahmanism, Zaraostrianism and idolatry. The Qur'an makes some critical review of these religions, how they have been practiced in Arabia. It referred to Arabian Judaism and Christianism not the western ones unknown in Arabia. If revelation is sacred, history of religions in Arabia is also sacred. If the final lesson is sacred, all the previous lessons till the final one are also sacred.

b- That is why there is no distinction in history between the sacred and the profane. History of prophecy is itself history of peoples as expressed in the prophetic narratives in the Qur'an, Noah and his people including his son, Abraham and his people including his father, Moses and the Pharoah, Jesus, the Scribes and the Parisians, Mohammed and the tribal history of Arabia.

c- Customs and manners of peoples in Arabia, the life of the Bedouins, their behavior and morals are described in revelation individually and collectively. The Bedouins ***al-A'rab*** are unbelievers, hypocrite, superficial, traders ...etc. Are these particular descriptions sacred? Even with the distinction of the jurists between the particularity of the cause and the universality of the judgment, if the universal judgment is revelation and consequently sacred, is the particular cause in time and space also revealed is consequently sacred? The same question can be addressed to the Gospel. Is the narration sacred, the indirect speech or only the words of Jesus, or the direct speech? Is Mary Madeline, the adulterous, sacred or only Jesus judgment: Whoever did not commit a sin should throw a stone on her?

VIII- Is sacred, may be the meaning also as understood by the mind and felt by the heart, the psychological meaning ***al-Ma'na al-Nafsi***, or in philosophical terms the essence after putting the fact such as the context, ***Asbab al-Nuzul*** and ***al-Nasikh wa al-Mansukh*** between brackets. This meaning is universal and objective, discovered through the human living experience. This homology between the meaning and psycho-socio-political reality is the sacred. Qur'anic theory of perception "The eyes are not blind but the hearts" is identical to the experience of perception, the double - ray theory, from the eye to the object and from the object to the eye, from the subject to the object and from the object to the subject as Husserl explained, in his theory of perception. From the object to the subject alone is impression, from the subject to the object alone brings intuition. Most Qur'anic verses are formulations of living experiences such as popular proverbs.

a- Another ethical experience is the relation between faith and action. Faith alone is weak and inactive. Action alone needs another strong motivation. Faith as the foundation of action and action as founded on faith is a human experience in all religious communities. Is sacred what human is?

b- A social experience is the social aspect in revelation. A religious community is based on co-operation and public welfare. It does not permit a huge discrepancy between rich and poor. Equality and social justice are two principles of any religious community. This corresponds to any religious experience. Jesus answers the rich man asking about going to eternal life to throw whatever he has and to follow him. In Islam, the poor have a vested right in the wealth of the rich. Any society having one hungry man is excluded from the Mercy of God.

c- A political experience based on mutual consultation ***Shura*** against the monopoly of opinion and authoritarianism corresponds to any political experience by any religious community. Amos in the Old Testament warned the kings of the future against the down fall

of the state. Jesus addressed himself against the elders of the people, the scribes and the Rabbais. Mohammed was against the socio-political authority of ***Quraish***. Is The democratic principle in secular terminology profane or sacred?

d- A historical experience of the up rise and the down fall of nations described in the Qur'an is conditioned by ethical norms. Values are laws of history. Pharaoh and his army were drowned because of arrogance. The people of Lot perished because of homosexuality or using modern diagnostics because of AIDS. The Jews wandered in the Diaspora because of their disobedience.

IX- The Qur'anic text has several levels of concretization between the invisible and the visible, between the divine and the human, between the sacred and the profane. Seven levels can be described:

a- The Qur'an is the word of God ***Kalam***, a divine attribute, omniscience, meaning without words, knowledge without formulations which Husserl called ***Vorpredicative Erfahrung***.

b- The Qur'an as a first concretization outside divine Essence in the Preserved Tablet ***al-Lauh al-Mahfouz***, transforms the meaning in a written form presupposing a language. The question is: which language?

c- The Qur'an was carried by the Angel Gebril from the preserved tablet to the prophets each in his own language, Hebrew to the prophets of Israel, Arabic to Mohammed. This determined language in time and in space in the mind of Gabriel, spoken Hebrew or spoken Arabic, is it the work of the Angel, the transformation of the undetermined language to a determined one, from the universal and language to a particular and temporal language?

d- The Qur'an inserted in the mind and the heart of Mohammed by Gabriel is another level of concretization, Mohammed being a human being, his own feelings and desires, to convince his uncle to

convert to Islam, to convince idols worshipers to do alike, to fall in Love with Zeinab and Aicha, to be anxious about victory in Badr or defeat in Uhud, to write a testament in his agony as an eternal guidance and Omar refusal since the Qur'an is sufficient ...etc.

e- The Qur'an uttered by Mohammed in life-sound is another concretization since he heard it form Gabriel, recited in front of him by fear of errors. However, one error has been committed by the intervention of the Devil ***Shaitan*** knowing the desire of Mohammed to convince idols worshipers to convert to Islam even with a temporal compromise with their gods and making him saying ***Tilka al-hgharaniq al-ula, wa inna shafa'atuhunna la turtaga*** as a tongue slip.

f- The Qur'an heard by the companions of the prophet in different psychologies between belief and disbelief, sincerity and hypocrisy with different sounds and uttered in different dialects and even understood in different ways. The Qur'an was also written by the scribes ***Kuttbab al-Wohy*** as well as copied by others such as Hafsah. The order of the Surates, of the verses ***Ayates***, was it the work of the prophet himself or the writers? was revelation written in the dialect of Quraish?

g- The Qur'an was collected by the fourth Khalifa Othman from the oral tradition as well as from the written versions to standardize one version and destroy the other versions in order not to repeat the experience of the Judeo-Christian scriptures, many versions of the Torah, of the Talmud and of the Mishnah and many narratives of the life of Jesus in different Gospels. Sigistani gives in his ***Kitab al-Masahif***, many samples of the forgotten verses, and the different versions such as the version of Ali ***Mushaf Ali.*** Had political struggle had any effect on the standardization of the Qur'an?

X- The Qur'an now is a book which does not speak by itself but through interpreters. The Qur'an ***per se*** is silent. It speaks once it is heard or read. Since the contemporary reader lives in another

time, more than fourteen centuries ago, his psychology, his mentality, his intention and his anguishes are different.

a- In the old days, Muslim were victorious on the ground, but they were attacked in their new creed. That is why attention was paid previously to the creed, the Essence, the Attributes and the Acts of God, Prophecy and Eschatology. Now, Muslims are defeated on the ground. Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Septa and Melilia are occupied. Verses on land touches the hearts and the minds of Muslim nowadays. The sacred now as a deepest motivation would be liberation of the occupied territories.

b- Previously, Muslims were free. They expressed their opinions freely without fear from the Sultans. Verses on freedom of thought and action did not touch them. Nowadays, Muslims fear the sultans. They need to speak out, to denounce and to reject. Verses on freedom of action and the right to differ touch Muslim hearts and minds. Muslims are suffering from military regimes and kingdoms. Both, Military officers and kings have not been elected freely by the people. Verses denouncing kings and Pharaohs are felt by Muslims as they correspond to their state of minds. The sacred now would be the freedom of the citizen.

c- The ***Ummah*** in the beginning of Islam was prosperous. ***Bayt al-Mal*** during the reign of Omar ibn abd al-Aziz was overstocked. Every Muslim had his rights from it, fulfilling his basic needs. Now, the state is in debt. The discrepancy between poor and rich is huge. Verses concerning the rights of the poor in the wealth of the rich jump into the hearts and the minds of modern Muslims. Other verses denounce the circulation of the capital in a handful of Muslims namely capitalism. The sacred now would be equality and social Justice.

d- The ***Ummah*** was previously one unified ***Ummah***. No visas or passports were required. No blacklists or computer-checks were used. Disciples traveled from West to East or from North to South

looking for Masters to learn from them without fees. Now, Muslims are suffering from the fragmentation of the Muslim world, its division into 52 states or more. Intellectuals are put on blacklists or arrested at the borders, wanted dead or alive. Entry visas are refused. Political activists are kidnapped or physically liquidated. Verses related to the unity of the Umma as a reflexion of the unity of God are retrieved from the Qur'anic memory, as well as all verses related to ***Tawhid***. What is sacred: Qur'anic verses related to the unity of the Ummah or the unity of the ***Ummah*** itself on the ground, what the Jurists called ***Tahqiq al-Manat?***

e- In early Islam, every Muslim felt that he was a Muslim. The whole community was a Muslim community. There was no complex of inferiority ***vis a vis*** Jews or Christians, later on Greeks and Romans from the West and Persians and Indians form the East. All neighboring cultures have been translated, commented on, summarized, exposed and then superseded. After transfer came creativity. Now, Muslims have a crisis of identity. They are torn between Westernization and fundamentalism, immigration to the outside and immigration to the inside. The two identities collide to the point of civil war as in Algeria. Qur'anic verses concerning identity are remembered against imitation of the other as well as against imitation of the self. What is sacred, the Qur'an as text or self-identity realized in the world?

f- The Muslims in their golden age were producing what they were consuming. Their exports were more than their imports. They invented their own technology of irrigation, and pipelines as well as their technology of industry. Neighboring empires were sending to the heart of the Muslim world their trainees. Now, Islamic economy is dependant on the West even with all the efforts to continue self-reliant economy and sustainable development. 75% of the food in the Arab world comes form abroad. Muslim trainees are being sent abroad. They transfer the technology of others. They relinquish their political will for wheat and weapons. Qur'anic verses are extrapolated

to strengthen self-reliance, greenery, mining, shipping ...etc. What is sacred, the Qur'anic verses or self-reliant development?

g- Finally, Muslims carried Islam Westwards and Eastwards. They made their ***Futuhat*** as a self-commitment. They felt responsible for the whole world to carry on the message of freedom, equality, human dignity and peace. As a new power in the center they inherited the Roman Empire in the West and the Persian Empire in the East. Abd al-Raham al-Dakhil went form Damascus Downwards to Egypt and Westwards to Spain, and wanted to continue on Eastwards to Europe to come finally Southwards to Damascus again, making from the Mediterranean basin a Muslim lake. Now, Muslims lack political imagination. They lost their ambition. They are no more the carrier of a message. The Mediterranean Basin became American and the red sea an Israeli lake. Some Qur'anic verses come to the hearts and minds of contemporary Muslims concerning Man as the vice-gerent of God on Earth, the message refused to be carried on by Heavens, Earth and Mountain because of the heavy burden that is accepted by man. What is sacred? these verses or the whole situation of the contemporary Muslims on the way of carrying their message again?

h- The sacredness of the Qur'an is not the idolatry of the text but the implementation of its meaning in the real world, transforming revelation as an ideal system to a world system. Revelation and reality are two sides of one sacredness. A Qur'anic text which is not implemented in the world and the world that is just going to the opposite direction is a profane text. The sacredness of the Qur'an is the realization of its potentiality to reality. The Qur'an printed in silver and gold, covered by lane , kissed by the lips, touched by the hand to have a baraka, exchanged by heads of states as a gift, put in the salon as a nice piece of decoration and exposed in Museums is a new form of idolatry. Liberating occupied territories, freeing the citizen, implementing social justice, unifying the *Ummah*, preserving its identity, making it self-reliant, with a higher cause are

the sacred. Reality may be the real sacred text. The sacred text is only its phantom.



Analysis of Religious Discourse in the Arab World

I- Project Description

"Religious Discourse Analysis" is one of the major themes linking language, philosophy and social science. It is a way of knowing the actual way of thinking of the Arab/Muslim intelligentsia, their world perception of the relation between religion and society as social actors. Is the perception of the present overwhelmed by the tradition or expressive of a socio-political reality or even a wishful thinking concerning the future? Religious Discourse analysis is a barometer which measures the level of thinking between the past and the present, between tradition and modernity. Content analysis of religions discourse will be intertwined with phenomenological description of living experiences shared by the speaker and the researcher, by the author of the discourse and the analyser, namely by the scholar and the citizen. Hermeneutics would sum up major results to understand the state of mind and the frameworks of the speaker shared by the analyser. Introspection may lead to inspection for a final prospection.

(*) A project presented to the Swedish Institute in Alexandria in January 2003.

II- Scientific and technological background

Discourse analysis has been already applied to political discourse of political leaders in the Arab World (Nasser's discourse by M. Nasr, Beirut, Nasser's and Sadat's discourses by H. Hanafi, Cairo ...etc). It has been extended also to ministers and administrators discourses as members of the power ruling elite. It has also been widely used in literary works as applied linguistics in semiotics, semantics and stylistics, motivated by pure academic interest. Religious Discourse Analysis is still starting. Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid is one of its contemporary pioneers. It is also widely practised in the thematic interpretation of the Qur'anic verses in a deductive way without any reference to any given reality confining itself only to language and meaning.

III- Specific objectives and expected significance of the research

The objective of Religious Discourse Analysis is to clarify the stereotyped images in the mass media, in the general public opinion and in some written books and similarly all forms of personal communication (Sermons, Afternoon Mosques Lessons, funeral and condolences speeches ...etc) concerning Islam, religion, society and culture, always linked to terrorism, violence, oppression, conservatism, anti-modernism...etc, and to arrive to more objective historical, scientific and impartial judgements. Stereotypėd images of peoples and cultures are mostly negative. They determine the perception of political leaders in their decision making process concerning international relations especially peace and war. The attack of September 11, 2001, the invasion of Afghanistan and the war on Baghdad in March-April 2003 are recent examples. Content analysis of religious-political discourses may lead to the cultural factor behind spiral violence, symbolic or real. It may also dissipate the myth of clash of civilization feared to be the code of a third world war.

IV- Methodology and Work plan

Content analysis of Religious Discourse is the most suitable methodology to depict the content of thought and the means of expression. It may discover conservatism as a historical continuum and an essential component of the present religious discourse, intentionally used by political systems requiring complete obedience of the citizens. Obedience to the ruler is part of the obedience to God.

The material of content analysis comes from religious discourse in the mass media, most influential in forming the public opinion, diffused by television, radio, national press, religious newspapers and magazines, religious books, religious publishers and distributors. The material comes also from religious catechism in mosques, religious cassettes, religious postures, religious education in schools, and religious institutions activities. It includes also curriculum in private Islamic schools, religious institutes and universities. It may come also from the status of religion in constitutions and programs of political parties and NGOS.

V- Records of Primary Results

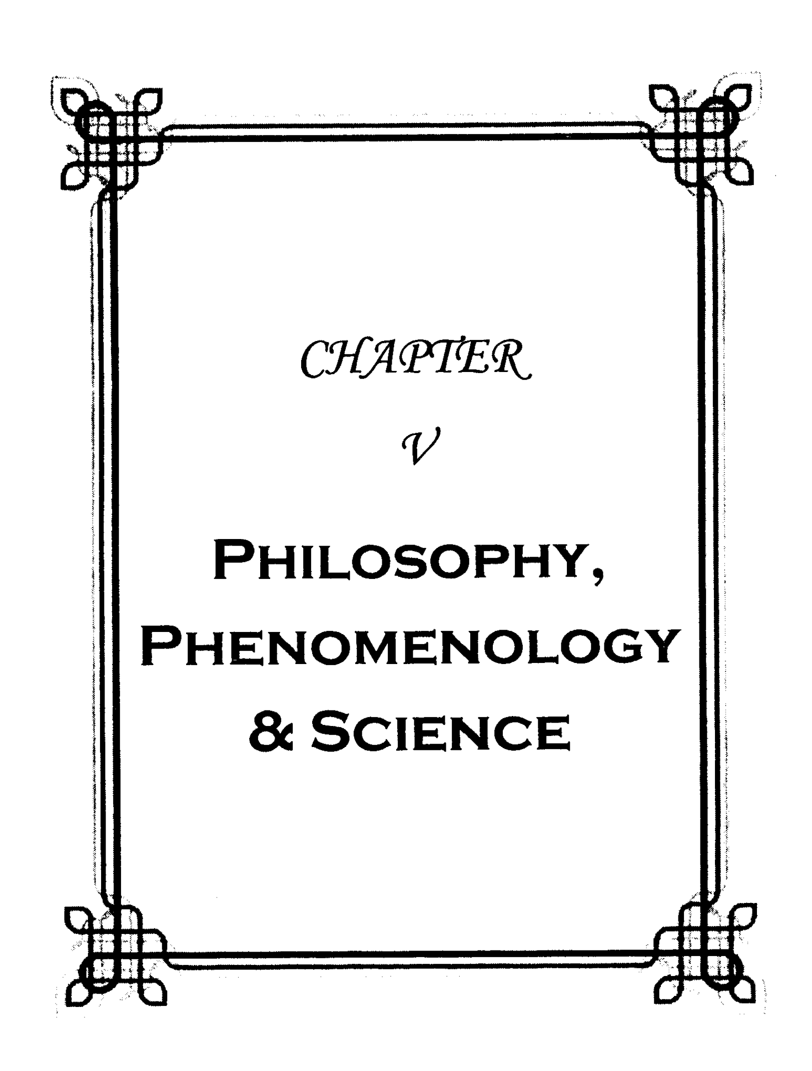
Primary Results are many on both theoretical and practical levels. First, to discover the historical power of traditionalism since one thousand years as a permanent option. Reformation tried to switch from traditionalism to modernism but it gradually ended now into fundamentalism because of the internal structure of religious discourse and external socio-political circumstances. That permits to know from where social change comes. New liberal and open religious education may be a new radical point of departure, not a simple linguistic discourse on tolerance. The solution is not to minimize the dose of religious catechism or even to abolish it but to change it for a more rational and social parts of the tradition. Second, to get rid of violence and extremism as social practices to

bring religious groups back to the heart of society instead of marginalization and illegitimacy. Religious movements need recognition in order to play a positive role in a multi-party democratic political system.

VI- Mode of Co-operation

Philosophers and Sociologists mainly from Egypt with the co-operation of one scholar from the Arab World and another from Sweden will engage in Religious Discourse Analysis in their respective countries in order to know the common features as well as the specific ones. Islamic Culture is a common heritage. Specifications come from the different socio-political circumstances. Measuring the relation between permanence and change in some Arab countries may help in knowing which country may carry the responsibility of the modernization process more than the other as time speeds. The Participation of Swedish co-partner will help in adjusting the comparison between "Western" model and Arab/Muslim one. Both cultures and societies are not living in the same historical phase, the West is at the end of modern times and the Arab/Muslim World is at the beginning of modern times, precisely, between Reformation in the XV century and Renaissance in the XVI century.





CHAPTER

V

PHILOSOPHY, PHENOMENOLOGY & SCIENCE

World-Wide Opinion Poll Concerning Philosophy and the End of the Twentieth Century

1- The Philosophical event which marked the development of philosophy in this century is the end of the two major philosophical alternatives of modern times: Formalism and Empiricism, the first coming out of Descartes ***Cogito ergo sum***, the second stemming out of Bacon and the ***Novum Organum***. The first conceived the human being as a reflecting subject and the world as movement and extension. The world is an idea which Husserl called ***Mathematizierung der Natur***. The subject is reason and the object is the point of Archimedes. The first ascending line coming out of desecrates was followed by the Cartesians, Spinoza, Leibnitz and Malebranche making the whole world as substance, Monad or God. Leibnitz ***Muthesis Universsalis*** was capable of deducing the whole world from numbers, or conceived ***Moro geometrico*** according to Spinoza. ***Récherche de la vérité*** of Malebranch is conditioned by the vision of God. This ascending line was followed by Wolf and Kant. Reason is subject and object. The form is the condition of the matter. Hegel was the peak of such trend in his ***Wissenchaft der Logik***. The second alternative was a descending line coming out of Bacon as

(*) Aachen, September 2003.

well as from Cartesian dualism followed by Locke, Hobbes and Hume. The world is an experiment. Reason is an amalgamation of sensations. This descending line was followed by Mach, Avenarius, and logical positivism. Both lines were the victim of subjective idealism, in the name of Reason or in the name of experience. Kant tried to unify them in ***Kritik der Reinen Vernunft*** in a juxtaposition, hierarchical and a vertical axe, while Hegel tried introducing movement on the horizontal axe. Both were the victim of abstraction. In this century, the big philosophical event is the end of this "open mouth" of modern European Consciousness coming to close by the third way, the philosophy of life which Nietzsche declared in 1900 and continued on since Dilthey, Bretano, Driesch, Husserl, Scheler, E. Von Hartmann, Eucken, W. James, Guyau, Fouillée and Bergson.

2- Every culture has its own historical course. Philosophical consciousness is a historical consciousness. That is why it is a symptom of alienation if a thinker from the Third World positions himself in historical course which is alien to him. However, as a historian of philosophy and a founder of "Occidentalism", a discipline which tries to study the West by apposition to "Orientalism", I believe that the big event which marked many thinkers outside the West and philosophers inside is the birth of philosophy of life as a third way between Rationalism and Empiricism, Idealism and Realism, formalism and Materialism, against the dualism of modern times stemming out of Descartes. Philosophy of life is a common share of all Western and Eastern cultures. It has been crystallized in the West as a rigorous science by Husserl and Bergson. The Foundation of phenomenology as ***Sreng Wissenschaft***, Reason analyzing living experiences, vision of essences, ***Blickwendung*** against ***Sbject-objekt Spaltung*** the description of Internationality and the new way of objectivity by going to ***Sachen Selbst*** and the intersubjective experience, all these new approaches to philosophy made phenomenology a certain kind of ***Philosopia Perrenis*** in every culture similar to the old dictum of Socrates ***Gnwthi S'auton*** or to Augustin's ***In te Rede***

Homine Habitat Veritas. What Husserl expressed in a German abstract way Bergson did in a more literary French style: ***La durée, l'intension, l'intuition, l'élar vital, l'engergie spirituelle, le mouvant, le dynamique, l'évolution créatrice,*** ...etc., that is why Husserl hearing from R. Ingarden for the first time Bergson's philosophy from the dissertation he directed ***"Intnition und Intellekt bei Bergson"*** cried: ***"Dass ist fast so, als ob ich Bergson Ware"***.

3- The major philosophical issue in this century is that of the end of philosophy, the end of history and the end of ideology. The feeling of the end is very common as if modern times were coming to an end. At the beginning of modern times the major issue was the new science of Galileo, of Vico, the ***Novum Organum*** of F. Bacon. Western philosophy had a point of departure and now it has a point of arrival. The end is sometimes expressed in different vocabulary such as: crisis, ***Krisis*** of Husserl, ***la crise de la conscience Europeanne*** of P. Hazard, Declin such as Spengler's ***Declin of the West***, Renversement such as Scheler's ***Umsturz der Werten***, the agony such as Unamumo's the "agony of Christianity" or trial such as Toyenbee's "civilization on trial", ...etc. The major current is phenomenology and its consequences in existential philosophy. It helped in developing a new collegial art of thinking, similar to Descartes meditations and going beyond the classical dualism. Analyzing the depth of human soul, reflecting on time and seeing essence may save Western consciousness from that permanent oscillation in levels of perception: abstract, concrete or psycho-physical parallelism. In existential philosophy, reflection became accessible to ordinary man. It gives meaning to human life, describes human condition, linking philosophy, literature and human sciences, beyond mathematical models symbolic logic, theories of science and conceptual or physical anthropology. The majors works of this century are Husserl's ***Logische Untersuchungen***, ***Ideen I,II, III, Krisis***, Heidegger's ***Sein Und Zeit***, Royce's "The world and the individual", Sheler's ***Formen and Wesen der Sympathie*** and Bergson's ***Evolution Créatrice***.

4- History of philosophy is determined by history not by individual wishful thoughts. The future is partially conditioned by the past and the present, according to the dialectics of philosophical systems, from thesis to anti-thesis to synthesis, from idealism to realism to new idealism or new realism, from classicism to romanticism to new classicism or new romanticism. It may be of two rhythms from Cartesianism to new-Cartesianism, from Kant to new-Kantism, from Hegel to new Hegalianism ...etc. A system may be split between right and left, like that of Aristotle, Descartes and Hegel. Given the actual malaise in Western philosophy after deconstructionism, l'élan vital came to an end. There are no more big narratives, systems, theories or methods. Post-modernism is destroying the gains of modernism including the ideals of the enlightenment which philosophy has struggled for. Reason became ***Déraison*** and order switched to disorder. Feyerabend expressed it in "Farwell to reason", "Against Method", "killing time" ...etc. According to the development of Western philosophy in the past, and the situation of philosophy in the present, the philosophy in the West has no future. There is what Husserl called ***Bankrott der Philosophie***. Two world wars had a negative impact on self-confidence and the realm of values. The future may be some new reading for the past, an analysis of the actual crisis, or new utopias and science fiction. Capitalism pride coming out of the failure of socialist regimes became a certain kind of arrogance of power destroying the other and self-annihilating.

5- However, to counterbalance this gloomy picture of philosophy in the West, a new task for philosophy can be conceived for the West in the 21st century. This task can be summarized in a multiple agenda as follows:

a- Exploring the very sources of Western philosophy beyond the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman sources to the Afro-Asian source as M. Bernal showed in his voluminous work: "Black Athena". From the old history, the impact of Mesopotamia, of Canaan, of Ancient

Egypt, of Islamic civilization on Western philosophy in its three successive periods, classical, mediaeval and modern is no more a subject of a conspiracy of silence. The West may be resurrected like phönix from the ashes once a new blood transfusion is made, by rediscovering its own old sources or new sources from the actual periphery.

b- Conceiving a new philosophy of history which recognizes the end of history and the closing of modern times and feeling the Eastwind. Philosophy began from the East and went Westwards in the past, now it goes back from the West Eastwards in the future. The renaissance of Asia is not only economic but also cultural. The impact of the East in Europe is so obvious that it requires the end of Euro-Centrism.

c- Initiating a new inter-Cultural dialogue in order to end the center-periphery dichotomy and to treat all cultures on the same level. Mutual enrichment between cultures is better than a one way direction, from the center to the periphery in the name of transfer of knowledge and acculturation.

d- Digging in specific national cultures to find endogenous road for modernization including liberation theology, mass-cultures, proverbs, folklore and grass-roots traditions, against the profusion of the culture from the center to the periphery in the name of globalization and information revolution.

e- Creating new code of ethics and value-systems against the double standard practice and the individualistic worldview behind the universal declaration of human rights to complete it with the universal declaration of people's rights and the universal declaration of human responsibilities to live in an equal world between rights and responsibilities. The problem of the future is not only the twenty first century, but whose century and whose world?



Reciprocity of Consciousness

A Phenomenology of Counseling

(Primary Reflections)

Counseling is a special art of reciprocity of consciousness between the counselor and the counseled, a dialogue between the I and Thou, between the self and the other, a face to face relation in order to widen the scope of seeing the world and ***ipso facto*** seeing one's own human condition reflected in the other. A perspective is only a view, a monologue. Reciprocity of consciousness is a double perspective, a dialogue. Counseling means the presence of the other with the self, the partnership in knowing and doing, the mutuality, what Heidegger called the ***Mitsein***, what M. Scheler called the sympathy. According to Biblical narratives, since Adam was created from clay, Eve was also created from him to show the intimacy between the self and the other. The self is mirrored in the other discovering a whole world in another perspective. The other is the objective self while the self is the objective other. Counseling, once done more deeply and more humanly, is a high moment of reciprocity of consciousness.

Why counseling? Why is it highly needed nowadays? What went wrong in modem times, which created a sense of solitude and isolation? What made one contemporary philosopher, J.P. Sartre, cry ***L'enfer c'est autrui***? What is the reason behind this deep sense

(*) International Association for Counseling, UNESCO, Paris, 4-7 August, 1998.

of isolation in Western contemporary consciousness? Max Stirner could not recognize any existence or any value outside the individual in his ***Das Einzeln und sein Eigentum*** (1).

The model of modem times, the subject facing the object, man versus nature was successful in the beginning. The Copernican revolution was the basis of modem science. Nature is an open book in stead of the closed book, the Bible. Exegesis and Hermeneutics could not be substituted to ***mathematizierung der nature*** of Galileo. The identity between reason and nature helped in discovering the same order, the rational order and the natural order. Reason is no more the scholastic faith ***fides quarens intelleectum*** but the realm of evidence, of clear and distinct ideas. Nature was no more the recipient of Divine Grace breaking its laws but the autonomous nature with determined laws. For Spinoza, God is ***Natura Naturans***, and nature is ***Natura naturata***. Given the continuous success of such model in physics and mechanics in the XVII century, in biology and botanics in the XVIII century, and even in human and social sciences including history in the XIX century concluding in the first industrial revolution. Man became the master of nature, as if nature had no master before discovering the side-effects of that heroic model in pollution and desertification.

Nature became physical nature, dead nature by apposition to living nature, a depersonalized nature and a value free. In spite of the romanticism of J.J. Rousseau and Goethe, ***Retour à la Nature***, the mother nature and the human nature, nature was not a sufficient other with whom the subject can enter into dialogue. The subject was only the efficient cause, and nature the material one. The power of control in modern science switched to a power of domination and even of destruction in armament, culminating in the atomic bomb and the nuclear threat. Nature was not reciprocating with man and man was destroying nature for the sake of industry and for

(1) Max Stirner: L'unique et sa propriété.

concurrence to power. Man felt more and more isolated. The dislocation between reason and nature began to occur. ***Farewell to reason***, ***Against method***, deconstructionism and the end of the big narratives for the sake of postmodernism putting an end to the order of the law, the law of reason and the law of nature. Human consciousness began to be void, feeling emptiness and death in the soul. The glorious subject of ***Cogito ergo sum***, heroic and courageous, hopeful and self-affirming fell into solipsism, from extroversion to introversion. Nature that was at the beginning a meana of liberation became a tool of oppression in the computer age and the information revolution, the modern man in front of the screen, speaking to a machine, interchanging with electronic mail has lost reciprocity of consciousness. He knows but he does not love. He systematizes but does not feel compassionate, he is well informed on everything and on nothing in the same time. He needs to share not to have, to give not to take, to love not to count. The human person emerges in nature but he transcends it as E. Mounier describes (1). Here comes the need for counseling, as reciprocity of consciousness, as an intersubjective experience, as mutual understanding based on confidence and love, to bring the self out of its isolation, putting her in front of other in a human enterprise of a profound partnership. The counselor is just playing this role of the other for the self, and the counseled is also playing the role of the self for the other. Reciprocity of consciousness is a high example of life in dialogue.

In the beginning of modern times, the subject stood in front of the church and the palace. He refused to be subjected to the authority of the Popes or of the kings. He is an individual against the group, the citizen against the ***ecclesia*** and the kingdoms. His relation to authority is based on a social contract, a free delegation of one's individual partial power to a representative of the group, as Locke, Spinoza and Rousseau described. Freedom and democracy were the prerequisites of modem civil society. The individual was the point of

(1) E. Mounier: Le Personalisme, PUF, Paris, 1955, p. 19-26.

departure, the corner-stone of the whole social system. The individual is a star shining in the sky, a center of gravitation, a new social reading to the ***Cogito*** of Descartes and to the ***Ich denke*** of Kant. Individualism became the basis of Western liberalism, formulated by J.S. Mill.

Once individualism was ***à la Protagoras*** it ended into relativism, skepticism and agnosticism in the name of pluralism. The individual was lost in the "Pluralistic universe" like that of W. James. The world itself was an individual affirmation as in Schopenhauer's ***The world as will and Representation***. And J. Royce ***The world and the individual***. The other began to disappear in spite of the whole XVIII and XIX century social movements and social thinking. The other was a simple group, a totality, a class, a union, an ideology, a political regime or a state. There was no more face to face relation, an individual to an individual, judged as bourgeois relationship based on individualism not on communautarianism. The capital could not either play the role of the other in liberalism. The capital made the deepest motivation in man profit and concurrence. The other is a consumer to exploit rather than to serve. Once there is a depression, a crisis in the stock market, a devaluation of currency or a destructive natural disaster, fire or earthquake, or a human global destruction such as war, the individual is lost. Communication is one dimension in human personality as E. Mounier describes. Inside the individual there is the person [1]. The individual is introvert, the person is extrovert. The individual is disjunctive, the person is conjunctive. Individuals can make a ***Gesellschaft*** while persons create ***Gemeinschaft*** using the famous distinction of Tonnies. There is no ***Sein*** without ***Mitsein*** using the language of Heidegger [2]. Here counseling intervenes to create a more human world based on community solidarity, not on the ephemeral world. The kingdom of heaven is not from this world. The counselor returns as other to the

(1) E. Mounier: Le Personalisme, p. 50-53.
(2) Heidegger: Time and being, Trans. J. Macquarrie & E. Robinson, Blackwell, UK 1962. p. 149-168.

counseled as self to declare: the kingdom of heavens is near, provided that the counselor himself is capable of transcending his time freeing himself from human contingency.

Justly, Western consciousness in modern times revolted against the misuse of God to justify human Passions. God because of his Omnipotence has been conceived as if he was against human freedom and free will, as if he was against human reason because of his Omniscience appearing in revelation as intellectual tutorship. Religion is an opium of the consciousness says Kant, opium of the people says Marx. Substituted to God, Western consciousness projected humanity which was closer to Western humanity in the center, other people and cultures in the periphery are living in a pre-human era of history. Reason, nature, man, freedom, society and progress became new gods generating the French and the American revolutions. With the industrial revolution in the XIX century almost history came to an end. The old prophecy was accomplished. The Messia appeared, glory to the son of man. The ideals of enlightenment have been considered negative by Adorno and the school of Frankfurt. Nietzsche declared at the end of last century ***God is dead*** and the superman is alive. Fifty years later, R. Bart declared man is also dead and no body is alive. The author is dead and the text is alive and read. Once the text is deconstructed nothing becomes alive. A general Nihilism is felt every where in and out Western consciousness. A philosopher cries ***Erlebnissverloss*** (Husserl); other observers ***Umsturz der Werten,*** (M. Scheler); a third writes the ***Decline of the West*** (Spengler), a fifth judges ***Civilization on trial*** (Toyenbee); a sixth sees modern times as ***des machines à faire des dieux*** (Bergson). At the heart of modern times Stirner prefaced his ***L'unique et sa propiété*** by: I have based my life on nothing [1].

Here counseling can intervene again. The counselor can bring to the world again a lost confidence. He can lift up the malaise from

(1) M. Stirner: L'Unique et sa propriété, trad. D. Reclaire Pauvert. p. 7-9, J.J. Pauvert, 1960.

the soul, he can question this failure of nerves, resisting the total collapse in the youth. Renewal is preferable to destruction. ***Aufhebung*** is a continuous accumulation of experiences which never begins from point zero. Self-destruction is something and self-renewal is something else.

In the XX century, the son of man was crucified. Two world wars in less than half a century and the destruction of the new gods began. To escape this predicament Western consciousness discovered the lost paradise. It looked for a new universalism even from the Middle or the far East, an extreme Buddhist monk lifestyle, an Iranian ***Darwish*** or ***Mawlawi*** or even some forms of Islamic fundamentalism. The solution is abroad, in another culture and in another opposite direction, the East, the spiritual romantic, ideal, emotional and mystical East which seduced Goethe and the German romantics in the first half of last century. The extreme leads to another extreme. He is looking for a new cause, he desires some types of heroism expressing the ideal dimension in human life. Here the counselor intervenes to bring the two extremes closer together. The solution of internal isolation is not outside. The other of Europe is not Asia but inside Europe itself. Reciprocity of consciousness inside the culture precedes reciprocity of consciousness in between cultures. The other is near not far: Anti-war and peace movements, human rights, gender, greenery, anti-consumerism, international amnesty, the holy cross, doctors without borders, care and charities.

Counseling steps in to reconstruct the human person, to help in rediscovering a new horizon more permanent and more stable. Since nothing can compensate the Transcendence, the rediscovering of the ***Alter-ego***, not on the horizontal level such as the counselor but on the vertical level, God. In religious terms, the counselor plays the role of the church father in the confession, the role of the beloved like Raskolinkof confessing his crime to Sonia in ***Brothers Kramazov***. God is love. He forgives and expiates. The rediscovery of faith as a means for self-rehabilitation may be the real endeavor of counseling.

God is an Other who helps in discovering the human being as other. The difference is only in degree, not in kind, the Universal Other and the individual other. The eternal Thou and the self in the language of M. Buber (1).

Psychoanalysis has its limitations. It cannot fully help the self in discovering the other. The relation between the analyzer and the analyzed is already a medial relation not a human one. The analyzed is considered sick to be cured by the help of the analyzer, which may be also sick, both belong to the same culture where the other may be lost. It is a relation of a doctor and a client, paid and highly commercialized and not covered by medical insurance. It is a temporary cure, for a certain period of time after which the self returns to its deep isolation. There is no individual cure. The crisis is not personal. It is generated by a whole cultural and historical setting. A radical counseling is this one which goes to the cultural and historical depth of the individual. Through radical counseling, the counselor is transformed to a social critic, to a man with a cause. Solitude switches to social cricism, isolation switches to social commitment. Frustration gradually changes to self-satisfaction and self-fulfillment. Despair turns smoothly to hope. Counseling is more than psychoanalysis analyzing complexes hidden in human behavior or social psychology, looking for more adaptation between the individual and his social environment. It is rather a human phenomenology in order to discover the presence of the other inside the self and to exteriorize him as a real other with whom the self shares the common cause. The other is also a self for the other as well as the other is the self for the self. M. Scheler described the self of the other to uplift the other from the level of the object to the level of the subject (2). Every partner is a self and an other in the same time, the self as other, the other as self.

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(1) M. Buber: La vie en dialogue, Aubier, Paris, 1989, p. 57-89.

(2) M. Scheler: Nature et formes de la sympathie, contribution à l'étude des lois de la vie emotionnelle, trad. M. Le Febvre, Payot, Paris, 1950 p. 311-384.

Counseling is a higher order of human interaction than psychoanalysis. In counseling there is more of sharing experiences between the counselor and the counseled, exchanging views, and discussing possible alternatives. In counseling there is more reciprocity of consciousness. Both the counselor and the counseled play an active role, hearing and saying, questioning and answering, giving and taking. The relation between both is not clinical but social, not commercial but human. There is no illusion of cure but only a better understanding for the fragile human condition. In counseling there is what M. Scheler called the affective participation or the authentic dialogue in the language of M. Buber(1).

Phenomenological analysis of intersubjective experience is a model of high counseling based on the reciprocity of consciousness. The analysis of the communitarian intentionality unifies the phenomenologists into one common purpose, one universal essence seen by all. Counseling in Habermas language is a theory of communicative action (2). Both the counselor and the counseled are equal partners in communication experiences facing the same reality. No upper hand, no lower hand. A collective common cognitive consciousness is already a step towards the isolation of the individual, the identity of the self with the self. In counseling, the other is the other pole of intersubjective intentionality, the correlate of the subject.

Counseling can be a certain kind of a phenomenology of encounter, of facing the other, of bringing the self from its own interior world to the external world. The mystics spoke of encountering God. Moses did hear the sound from behind the burning bush in human consciousness rather than by sight. The ear is

(1) M. Scheler: Nature et formes de la sympathie, contribution à l'étude des lois de la vie emotionnelle, trad. M. Le Febvre, Payot, Paris, 1950 p. 17-25.
M.Buber: la vie en dialgue, Aubier, Paris, 1959, P. 215-218.

(2) J. Habermass: theory of communicative action, 2 vols, trad. Fr. J.M. Ferry, Fayard, Paris, 1986.
E. Husserl: Meditations Cartesiènnes, Trad. G. Peiffer, Vrin, Paris, 1953 p.74-128.

more linked to the heart than the eye. Acoustic arts express the interior world while figurative arts express the external world. The first art is in time while the second is in space. In the encounter, a whole ontology can be discovered which fills the empty space of the individual. The human being is present in the body as God is present in the temple [1]. The encounter is realized in the dialogue.

Life is in dialogue against solipsism, solitude and isolation. Like God created Eve from the soul and the body of Adam, the other is a part of the self. The self and the other are two correlates of the same intentionality. Man for man is the supreme being says Feuerbach. M. Buber created a whole life in dialogue between I and Thou. The self refers to another, not to this or that, but to the counter-self, the other [2]. Reciprocity of consciousness is the high model of counseling, not as a profession but as vocation, the double meaning of the German world ***Beruf***. Counseling is a community of consciousness, a human reciprocity, a trialogue between I, Thou and We which reflects the Universal Thou. No dialogue is possible without a third term. If the three correlates of Western consciousness were lost, nature, society and God the possibility of a recuperation of these correlates through counseling is possible [3]. The spirit of charity, giving more than taking, offering more than asking, and the realm of value, the common good, the high cause, can transform counseling from a simple association to a maker of history.

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(1) F.J. Buytendijk: Phénoménologie de la rencontre, trad. J. Knapp, Desclée de Brouwer, Bruxelles, 1952 p. 39-43.

(2) M. Buber: la vie en dialogue, Aubier, Paris, 1959, p.7-29.

(3) M. Nedoncelle: la réciprocité des consciences, Aubier, Paris 1942, p. 127-205.

The Self between Time and Eternity

An Islamic View

I- Semantic Analysis

1. The self *Nafs* is a prominent theme in the Qur'an [1]. It has several synonyms such as Soul ***Ruh***, heart ***Qalb,*** consciousness ***Fou'ad***, chest ***Sadr***. All terms share the same semantic field, the internal world versus the external world, the world of perception, knowledge, motivations, desire, hope, the intercession between the external world and the superior world. Classical Islamic philosophy conceived psychology between physics and metaphysics. The self is used also in grammar as emphasis after pronouns or nouns as if the self is a voluntary confirmation of the person or of the things, of the self and of the world.

2. The self is one of the major topic in Islamic philosophy and Mysticism philosophers such as al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Baja and Ibn Tofail, made the self a corner-stone in their philosophical systems. Philosophy is three parts: logic, physics and metaphysics.

(*) Kyoto, Japan, February 2000.

(1) The word *Nafs* is mentioned in the ***Qur'an*** 375 times, 169 plural and 126 singular, as an individual and collective entities. It is related to possessive pronouns (293), third person plural (95), singular (42), second person plural (50), singular (10), first person plural (3), singwar (16). The self bélong to human beings.

The self is between physics and metaphysics, the body in physics, the mind in metaphysics. ***Ikhwan al-Safa*** made the self a special and independent fourth part in their system called ***al-Nafsaniyat wa al-'Aqliyyat*** putting together self and Reason. In contemporary Islamic thought, the self is a central topic in modem poetry such as that of Mohammed Iqbal's, the secrets of the self, ***Asrar Khudi***. In Urdu, God ***Khuda*** and the self ***Khudi*** are from the same root. Western philosophy from Descartes ***Cogito*** to Husseri ***Cogitatum*** through Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Shopenhauer, Nietzsche, Max Scheler, E. Mounier, Bergson and J. Royce crystallized in transcendental philosophy is simply a reconfirmation of the Islamic view on the self.

3. ***Fou'ad*** which means consciousness is linked to senses such as audition and sight as an internal intention. Sometimes it is by itself an organ of sight, external and internal like a vision. It means also moral consciousness. When a mother loses her child her consciousness becomes empty like Moses mother leaving Moses in the Nile. ***Qalb***, which means heart refers to the internal world as awareness, awakening, the condition of external perceptions. ***Sadr*** means chest, the place of the heart, a spatial metaphor. ***Rouh***, soul is the principle of life in relation to the body, a secret and a challenge to human knowledge [(1)].

4. The Hebrew and Greek terms belong to the same semantic field, ***Nefesh***, ***Ruah*** in Hebrew and ***psyche***, ***pneuma*** in Greek. Also in German and French, the two terms ***Seele*** and ***Geist***, ***Ame and Esprit*** belong to the same semantic field. In English, mind is added to spirit and soul. ***Nafs*** in Arabic and ***Nephesh*** in Hebrew refer to acquiring knowledge from the verb ***Naqash*** which means print or scribe, while the Arabic term ***Roh*** or the Hebrew ***Ruah*** are derived from the same root ***Ruh*** as wind.

(1) ***Fou'ad*** is mentioned 16 times, 11 plural, 5 singular stressing collective consciousness. ***Qalb*** is mentioned 132 times, 112 plural, 19 singular one time dual, affirming more and more communautarian consciousness. ***Sadr*** 44 times, 33 plural, 11 singular confirming the. internal world as one entity. While soul ***Rouh*** 24 times, all singular because of individual responsibility.

5. The relevance of this grammatical analysis is the communication in the internal world between individuals and groups, the intersubjective experience since the self is used in a plural than a singular form connected to possessive pronouns than standing alone as pronouns. Knowledge and virtue, the theoretical and the practical dimensions of the self are communicative, interchangeable, transferable from a person to another and from a generation to another to bridge solitude and generation gap for the sake of mutual and intergenerationally response and responsibility.

II- The unity of the self

1. The self is one, in the beginning of creation all human beings are created from one self, the unity of origin, implies the equality of all, the negation of racialism, ethnicities, color discrimination, cultural supremacy, separatism and the fragmentation of mankind. After multiplication this self attested at the moment of creation, its commitment to the ideal, as inherent to self-affirmation. The self has a vocation, the realization of the ideal in the world, the implementation of the identity between the ideal and the real, dissociated since creation[1].

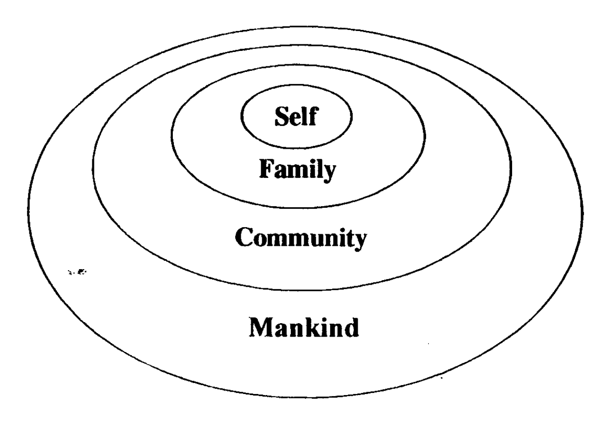
2. If the self originated from the same source it ends also to the same destiny coming from the same origin and returning to it. Human life is this passage from the beginning to the end. Human history is made in between. That is why philosophers tried to prove, first the distinction between the soul and the body, second the immortality of the soul. The first is the outcome of creation, the second is the way to resurrections[2].

3. As a manifestation of this unity, the wife has been created from the soul of the husband, a metaphor of identity between both, a high degree of intimacy, closeness and mercy. The unity of the individual self is the seed of the unity between the self and the other

(1) 4:1; 6:98; 30:21; 16:73; 18:51; 7:172; 4:95; 7:172.
(2) 6:98.

in love between male and female. The family, parents and children, is one unit as the self [1].

4. Self-affirmation does include self-negation for the sake of others. The other is the self in duplication or the alternative self. Alterwisin protects self- affirmation from a possible moral consequence, egoism. Self-affirmation is at the same time the affirmation of the other. Self is a communal self, a whole global community ***Ummah***, which requires going beyond egoism and nationalism. The unity of the self, the unity of the family and the unity of the community, and the unity of mankind are manifestations of the same unity in intertwined circles sharing the same center.



5. Self-affirmation is the first ontological reality, not only ***Cogito ergo sum*** but also ***Ergo cogito sum***, action in the world. The material world comes after the human world. World affirmation comes after self-affirmation, individually and collectively, a second cogito after the first one [2].

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(1) 7:189; 39:6; 81:7; 30:28,21; 16:72; 2:223,235; 42:11; 36:36.
(2) 2:90; 2:102; 59:19.

6. The unity of the self preserves the unity of the corporation and of the social body. It maintains national cohesion based on consensus. Unity implies multiplicity such as identity implies diversity. Dialogue between new and old generations realizes this unity between the diachronic and the synchronic, between development and structure, between permanence and change.

III- The self as a value

1. The self is an absolute value. Whoever terminates the life of one person is as if he terminates the life of all human beings. That is why in Jurisprudence life is one of the five intentions of Islamic law with reason, truth, human dignity and national, moral, cognitive and material life. Capital punishment is part of the penal code. Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, soul for soul is the old law of the talion. It aims at preserving human life. Once the individual self transgresses, it loses its right to live[1].

2. Life and death of the self is previously determined in time, not necessarily by an external will, called in classical theology Divine Will but by the nature of time. Man is born from this first communal self as a consequence of mutual love between male and female. He is an extension in space and a tension in time[2]. Between life and death is the whole human destiny. Its actions have to be implemented in proper time. After due time regrets are useless[3].

3. The life of the self is unseen. The future is undetermined. Earning and destinies including death are unknown and imprevisible. That leads the self to more creativity in the present without having any anguish towards the future. The unknowable future gives the self the power to know, the desire to explore and the incentive to find its own path. However, life is a temptation. There is no a priori guarantee for material or moral security. Life is hard work. It

(1) 5:32; 6:151; 2:84-85; 4:29; 4:66; 18:74; 20:40; 5:45; 17:33; 25:68; 29:57.
(2) 3:145; 2:281; 3:185; 21:35; 63:11; 39:42.
(3) 39:56.

requires moving, going and coming, carrying heavy burdens, developing, increasing, producing, inventing, creating, growing, investing, laboring and constructing [1].

4. The internal acts of the self such as faith, belief, conviction are determined by their own laws, by their own dynamics, unexpectedly, called in classical theology, the will of God. Man can control his external deeds not his internal ones. If God willed he could have given each self here good guidance but He left her for her own perception and decision, for her own knowledge and power [2].

5. The external deeds of the self are implemented in the world. They are visible actions, the manifestations of the self in the world. They are not hidden, secret or underground actions. The unity of the self is the outcome of the unity between internal deeds, thinking and feeling, with external deeds, saying and doing. The private and the public are the same. Thinking without feelings is like a computer. Feeling with thinking is a void passion, a mere desire. Thinking and feeling without uttering is lack of courage and empty shyness. Thinking, feeling and uttering without doing is lack of action and decision, while doing without thinking, feeling and uttering is like a robot [3].

6. The active self can only do whatever it can without hurting or harming. It does what fits her capacities, no more, no less. Over-charging, over-doing and exaggerating can harm. The actions of the self are normal, natural and intermediary actions. The golden means is a cosmic order. Actions are the possible actions not the impossible ones [4]. The smooth transmission from old generations to new generations is a manifestation of the golden means, preventing the autocracy of the old and the dissent of the new.

IV- The moral self

1. The self is the birth place of morality, in a tension between

(1) 31:34; 32:17; 2:155; 16:7; 25:3.
(2) 60:100; 23:13; 17:125; 57:22; 7:188; 10:15, 49.
(3) 33:37; 49:40.
(4) 2:223; 6:152; 7:42; 23:62; 65:7; 4:84.

passions and reason. Human freedom can solve this tension in two ways: a negative way by giving priority for passions on reason, and a positive one, by giving priority for reason on passions. In the self there is piety and impiety, good and evil, right and wrong as potentialities. It is up to human freedom to choose according to human reason capability of distinction between both paths [1]. That is why there are three dimensions of the self, the self driving to evil ***al-ammara bi al-su'***, the blaming self ***al-lawwama*** driving at repentance, and the quiet self ***al-mutma'inna*** which leads to quietude, happiness and beatitude. Philosophers also divided the powers of the self, using Plato's metaphor: the voluptuous self desiring lust and having its virtue in continence, the furious self based on anger and having its virtue in courage, and the rational self devoted to thinking and having wisdom as its virtue [2].

2. In the self there is good and evil. It is up to it to implement good and to prevent evil. This is a challenge to human freedom. The self is a mere potentiality for positive or negative action. Evil comes from the self not from God, from the original sin or from the world. Evil is the outcome of free human choice. Good comes also from the self since nature is good and since God who created nature is also good. The self is responsible and accountable. Imitation of others prevents endogenous creativity [3].

3. The soul and the body are one unit in human life under the control of the soul, making human personality as one entity. The self is not only the material self coming out of the needs of the body but a moral self requiring going beyond economism and scientism [4].

4. The self is a cognitive power. It is called heart, the condition of knowledge. Sensations are mere sensual impressions through the five senses. They became perceptions once they are enlightened by

(1) 79:40; 71:7.
(2) 75:2; 89:27; 12:53.
(3) 91:7; 4:79; 4:161; 10:1 08; 17:15; 27:40, 92; 29:6; 31:12; 35:18, 32; 37:113; 39:41; 41:46; 45:15; 47:10; 75:14; 17:7; 2:57; 3:117; 7:160; 16:33, 118; 30:9.
(4) 4:4.

the heart. Knowledge requires two ways: one from the object to the subject, and another from the subject to the object [1]. Human passions lead to mere conjectures, while human reason leads to truth. Knowledge can he obtained by inward or outward reflections. The self and the world, the microcosm and the macrocosm are two sources of knowledge [2]. Historical knowledge provides the experiences of the past. Reason demonstrates and senses perceive. Rational evidence is a criteria of truth. The common sense, habit normal course of events are criteria of validity.

5. Human passions are two kinds: passive and active, negative and positive. The first like self-praising and self over-estimation. Self evaluation are done by others not by the self, to prevent arrogance and exaggerated pride. Plagiarism is a denial of natural wisdom. Injustice with one's self and with others is a denial of worthiness. The second like patience, perseverance and steadiness [3].

6. Good actions are conditioned by good intentions. Their validity is dependent on good will. Bad will generates hypocrisy, double talk and duality in human personality. Sincerity, truthfulness, honesty are primordial values [4]. The youth belonging to young generations can spell out in front of the aged belonging to old generations. The aged belonging to old generations has to hear the youth belonging to new generations. Time is maturation, the interchangeability of experiences of time, building bridges between generations to prevent discrepancies resulting from the generation gap.

V- The perfect self

1. The self imposes its own laws according to experimentation including restrictive actions. Self hearing is deeper and more

(1) Husserl in his phenomenology called this the double-ray theory, from the noêma to the noèsis and from the noèsis to the noêma.

(2) 53:23; 41:53; 51:21, 30:8.

(3) 18:6; 12:83, 18; 53:32.

(4) 2:207.

everlasting than schooling and knowledge transfer. It implements its own self-commitment, concludes its own covenant of virtue, human survival, sustenance and steadfastness. The Self is an autodidact, a process of learning, a constant self-examination and self-evaluation [(1)].

2. The Self corrects itself by itself. It begins by itself before beginning by others. $A=A$ precedes $A \neq B$ [(2)]. Changing the world begins by changing one's self. The Self watches itself. It is the subject and object especially women for self-upheaval or men in relation to women on psycho-physical level. Respect of others is part of self-respect. Greeting, honoring and behaving according to the golden rule: do to others as you do to yourself [(3)].

3. Trial and error are means and ways for self-correction. Self-learning is a continuous process towards more perfection, called in classical theology Divine Mercy and Forgiveness. This is a determined law of progress. Transgressing these self-imposed laws does self-injustice [(4)].

4. The actions of the self are historical actions following a whole prophetic tradition since Abraham. Self-recognition is historical recognition. The denial of historical recognition is the denial of self-perception in history. History is an accumulative self which requires going beyond "Nowism". Historical knowledge strengthens individual knowledge. Past experiences are accumulative knowledge and means of verification of present knowledge. History is the field of actions of all human beings. Actions are not regressive. They are continuously progressive. Forward is the normal course of action not backward. Actions are oriented towards the future, not towards the past, preparing the final outcome [(5)].

5. That is why Jurists conceived four sources of law: the normative text, its first application used as a paradigm, consensus

(1) 3:93; 2:84; 4:66.
(2) These are Fichte's formulas in his "theory of science".
(3) 2:44; 5:105; 49:11; 13:11; 8:53; 2:228; 2:234; 2:240.
(4) 4:110; 6:12, 54; 5:45; 5:32.
(5) 2:130; 57:22; 2:109; 2:207.

and the individual creativity. The norms are binding for all such as State constitution. The first application is like Primitive Christianity as a model for historical christianism. The consensus is an intersubjective experience as a guarantor of objective knowledge. The individual effort of understanding is the right of the individual to create, to innovate and to modernize.

6. This is the very basis of Co-generating global inter-generationally responsive and responsible public philosophy. The norm of previous generations are similar to a code, but the personal understanding of future generations is the dynamics of innovation. The old has the right to provide his experience and the new has the right to innovate. Time changes. Each generation is responsible to express the spirit of its time. Future generations are the continuation of past generations without imitation or conformity. Time requires innovation and new problems call for creative solutions.

VI. The fulfilled self

1. In the last judgment, the soul will be judged according to the law of merit, reward for good deeds and punishing for bad deeds. The outcome in the last judgment is a consequence and a natural result from the deeds in this world. Eternity is conditioned by time. The last judgment is the domain of absolute justice, necessary and universal, expressing a certain ideology of hope in the future victory of justice on injustice. No intercession ***Shafa'a*** or any violation of the law of merit is possible. Intercession is against individual responsibility and the universal norms. Each Self has its own deeds, works and achievements as proofs of its creativity and perfection. Her excellence witnesses her performance [1].

2. All human beings are judged according to the same universal norms. They can share the same target. Divergence in the point of departure are the way of convergence in the point of arrival. Differences

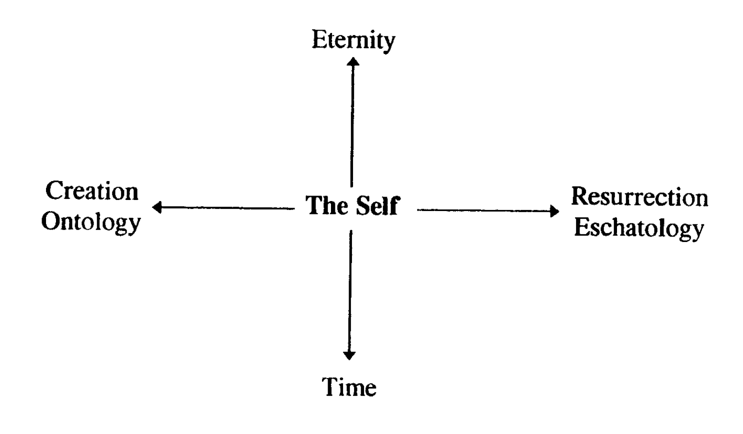
(1) 2:48, 123, 291; 3:125; 50:21; 3:25, 30, 161; 6:164; 10:30, 54; 13:23, 42; 14:51; 16:11; 36:54; 39:70; 40:17; 45:.22; 50:21; 74:38; 17:14.

of tongues, cultures and even of belief-Systems in the beginnings are judged according to the same universal norm at the end [1].

3. The highest struggle is martyrdom, the sacrifice of one's self for the affirmation of the ideal. The martyrs are not dead by they are eternally alive on earth by their works and in heavens enjoying eternity. The martyr sacrifices not only his deeds but also his life [2].

4. The self is always optimistic. There is no limitation for hope, this is called in classical theology the Infinite Mercy of God. The reward may be at the end for all. The punishment of evil-doers is done already in this world. Good has the final word on evil in the last judgment as it had before during lifetime [3].

5. To conclude, the Self is the center of a horizontal axe, between creation and resurrection, between ontology and eschatology, and a vertical axe between time and eternity. In history is its achievement and in eternity is its destiny. Time is the road to eternity.



(1) 3:161; 2:281; 3:125; 21:47.
(2) 9:111; 49:15; 9:88; 9:81; 9:44; 9:20; 8:72; 4:95.
(3) 39:53; 6:12.

6. Therefore "a grammar of global intergenerationally responsive and responsible public philosophy forum" can be simplified in this gradual five passages from the unity of the self, to the self as value, to the moral self, to the perfect self and finally to the fulfilled self. This simplified grammar put the self in time as a passage from the past to the future, and in intersubjective experience as a bridge between the self and the other to participate horizontally in the generational dialogue and vertically between the inferior and the superior, between the public servant and the high administrator. It combines epistemology, ontology and axiology the three major parts of philosophy, coming out of discourse analysis of the textual norms in every tradition. It begins from the private to the public sphere, from the inward to the outward, from the individual, to the family to the society to the community ***Ummah*** to the whole humanity. It preserves tradition and innovation, the old and the new, the past and the present, permanence and change, continuity and discontinuity. The horizontal and vertical intersubjective experience is the focal point in the intergenerational dialogue. Therefore, philosophy finds its accomplishment in phenomenology.



Phenomenology and Islam

1- The expression "Phenomenology and Islam" does not follow this common habit, taking one modern term such as Reason, Science, Globalization, Modernism, Post-Modernism, Humanism, Progress, Socialism, Capitalism ... etc and linking it to Islam by the conjunction "and". In the sub-consciousness these terms are modern terms invented in the west. Since Islam is old, a question emerges: how can the old reach the new as Christianity or Judaism did? This is done by western scholars to answer a question of leveling all non-western cultures with the west, the yardstick according to which every thing in other cultures has to be measured. It is also done by Muslim scholars to answer the question of identity in history, the homogeneity in time between the old and the new. Normally, the old "Islam" is mentioned first, the new "phenomenology" is mentioned second, to satisfy the complex of inferiority of the old ***vis á vis*** the new. If the new comes first a complex of superiority is satisfied by stressing that the new exist already in the old.

2- "Phenomenology in Islam" does not mean only a survey of phenomenological studies in the Muslim world: Translations, dissertations, books on Husserl and his disciples, the founders of phenomenological ontology and applied phenomenology, but it means also the spontaneous birth of phenomenology in each culture passing through the same circumstances as in western contemporary

(*) Phenomenologic website world phenomenological institute, Boston 2000.

philosophy. Phenomenology is a natural outcome in every culture threatened by a bifurcation between Rationalism and Empiricism, between formalism and materialism and the need to find a third way in a certain philosophy of life.

3- It does not mean also the accidental combination of some western philosophers, such as Henri Corbin, between two fields of expertise, Islam especially ***Ismailism***, an esotericism ***Batiniy***, and Hermeneutics especially Heidegger, finding himself as an expert-bridge between two cultures, a similarity between esoteric Islam and phenomenological ontology, between Mysticism and Hermeneutics, adding a third component from Jung's Archetypes and as a co-director of ***Oranos***. The analysis of daily experiences is not only in ***Ismailism*** or Mysticism but in other Islamic disciplines such as Methodology of Jurisprudence "***Ilm Usul al-fiqh***". Similar western studies are part of western thought rather than a part of Islamic contemporary philosophy.

4- The Qur'an, the first source of Islam analyses human and social phenomena as ***Lebenswelt***. The existence of God, the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul, the three major articles of faith in Abrahamic religions are described as living experiences, as motivations for human praxis and foundations of the good deeds. They are not dogmatic formal creed or material facts. Both levels are put between brackets under the ***epoche***. God is in the self, ***Gnwthi sauton*** of Socrates, ***In te rede homine habitat veritas*** of Augustine. The world is felt as significance, as an eschatological sign as described in ***Der Urspung der Welt***. History of the prophets is a lesson of piety and victory, an analysis of the past as a lesson for the present in preparation of the future, from retention to tension to pretension, the analysis of the internal feeling of time. Essences are universal but in the same time they are real, implemented in human praxis. In Jurisprudence Reason can understand reality. ***Vernunft*** and ***Virklichkeit*** are similar to subject and object. The Qur'an uses sometimes a language as if written by Husserl himself. When Moses

mother put her son in the box in water her consciousness ***Fu'ad*** became empty, a distinction between empty and filled ***Bewusstsein***. When Abraham came down to Mekka finding no sustenance he prayed to God to make the people incline to his posterity certain kind a social intentionality. Invocation is an Intentionality to wards God. Revelation itself is a Divine Intentionality towards man as well as a historical Intentionality towards perfection as Lessing described in ***Der Erziehung des Menschlechen Geschlechts***. Certainty and doubt in faith, hope and despair in action, success and failure in endeavors are living experiences described in the Qur'an in a figurative speech to impress and to incite imagination.

5- Islamic mysticism is the discipline ***par excellence*** which *analysed* living experiences of repentance, asceticism, acceptance, reliance, resignation, patience and absorption ***Fana*** in God, called steps ***Maqamat***. Mystics described also the dialectics of human feeling as Max scheler did in ***Wesen und For men der Sympathie***, as well as in the gradual ascension from sensual pleasue to the person in ***Formalismus in Ethik and die Materiale Wertethik***. They described fear and hope, absence and presence, awakeness and drunkness, self-affirmation and self-negation called psychological states ***Ahwal***. The mystical analysis of perception is similar to Husserl's double-ray theory, a ray from the subject to the object encountered by another ray from the object to the subject, transforming the Kantian ***a priori-a posteriori*** dichotomy from the formal categorical level to the perception level. The light coming out of the heart is the condition of perception by the five senses. Intuition precedes demonstration. The ***Vorverstandniss*** precedes judgments [1]. Mystics defended immanence as the only meaning of Transcendence as Max Scheler did in ***Der Ewigen in Mensch***.

6- Phenomenology is practiced in contemporary Islamic thought as a spontaneous discourse appealing to the hearts and the

(1) Hassan Hanafi: Theosophy and Phenomenology, Islamic studies, Anglo-Egyptian bookshop, Cairo, 1989, PP.273-45.

minds of the masses. Present challenges in the Muslim world are more than theoretical issues, but they are predicaments, pains and sorrows requiring a Muslim Max Scheler to analyze the experiences of decolonization, liberation, unification, social justice, development, identity and mass mobilization. Phenomenology became in the Reformist movements a popular discourse, a motivation for action, in order to transform the neutral consciousness to a positional consciousness (1). Mohammed Iqbal, the Indo-Pakistani philosopher and poet analyzed Islam in the individual and in history as a living experience. He discovered, following the mystics the world of subjectivity, ***Khudi***, a term which shares the same root with the term God ***Khuda***. Man and God, are both subjectivity, universal and normative.

7- In contemporary Islamic philosophy the first Islamic reading of Transcendental philosophy was done by Osman Amin in his famous work ***al-Juwaniya*** which means literally interiority (2). There is no difference between Islamic classical philosophy by al-Farabi and al-Gazali and Islamic reformers such as Iqbal, al-Afghani, M. Abdou, al-Kawakibi, M. Abd al-Razek, al-Aqqad from one side and Cartesian and transcendental philosophy from the other side. ***Al-Juwaniya*** is an Arabic translation of "Transcendental" by Kant. The opposition between ***Juwani*** and ***Barrani*** is similar to the opposition between Transcendental and Transcendent by Kant. Osman Amin did not go further from Kant and Fichte to Husserl and his disciples. His knowledge was limited to modern philosophy without being extended to contemporary philosophy. He was fond of the clarity and simplicity of the French style more than the German obscure and complex one. He read Kant through Goublot's "The philosophy of Kant" which he translated into Arabic. He was Cartesian more than Kantian. He translated from Descartes "Mediations" and "Principles of philosophy", and from Kant "Project of perpetual peace ".

(1) Al-Kawakibi studied as De Lammenais the phenomena of indifference *al-futur* in his famous book ***Um al-Qura***.

(2) Hassan Hanafi: from the individual consciousness to the communitarian consciousness. homage à Osman Amin, Islamic studies, Op.cit., pp.347-415.

8- The second effort to make an Islamic reading of phenomenology and phenomenological reading of Islam is his disciple Hassan Hanafi in his French youth triology: ***"Les méthodes d'éxègese", essai de reconstruction de la science des fondements de la compréhension "Ilm Usul al fiqh"; "L'éxègese de la phénoménologie ", l'état actuel de la méthode phénoménologigne et son application au phénomène religieux; "La phénoménologie de l'Exégèse", éssai d'une herméneatigne existentielle à partir du Nouvean Testament*** (1). This triology has become a whole project on three fronts. First, the reconstruction of classical Islamic disciplines theology, philosophy, Mysticism and Scriptural disciplines (***Qur'an, Hadith, Tafsir, Sira and fiqh***) using the phenomenological method as Husserl did in ***Krisis***, ***Erste Philosophie*** and ***phenomenologische Psychogie***. Second, the phenomenological description of the development and the structure of European consciousness and analyzing its sources, the Greco-Roman, the Judeo-Christian and the Pegan-popular, and describing its development from the classical to the medieval to the modern phase, and determining the point of departure in the ***Cogito***, and the point of arrival in the ***Cogitatum***, and parallel to the development of Islamic consciousness from the classical period, which corresponds to, medieval scholasticism to the Ottoman period which corresponds to European modern times, with a prospect on the future at a moment of crossroads between ***Bankrott der philosophie***, ***Erlebnissverloss***, ***Nihilismus***, ***Umsturz der Werten*** in European consciousness and Islamic upsurgence in the Muslim world (2). To substantiate this Islamic reading of European consciousness, translations into Arabic were done of ***Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*** of Spinoza, ***Ertziehung des Menschlichen Geschlechts*** of Lessing, ***La***

(1) The first is his ***these principale de Doctort d'etat a la sorbonne en 1966 dirigee*** par R. Brunschwicg. The second and the third are his ***these secondaire dirigee*** par P. Ricoeur and discussed by J. Guitton. The two other members were H. Laonst and H. Gouhier. The first is printed in Cairo by high council of Arts, letters and social science in 1965. The second is printed by Dar al-frkr al-Arabi, Cairo 1976. The third is printed by Anglo-Egyptian bookshop, Cairo 1987.

(2) Introduction to Occidentalism, al-Dar al-Fanniya, Cairo, 1991.

Transcendence de l'Ego of J.P. Sartre and "Anthology of Christian philosophy in the middle age" (***De Magistro*** of Augustin, ***Fides quarens intellectum*** of Anselm and ***De Ente et Essentia*** of Thomas Acquinas) [1].

9- Islamic Reading of Phenomenology and Phenomenological reading of Islam did not confine itself only to the academic theoretical level but it had its application in socio-political topics as Max Scheler did in transforming theoretical phenomenology to an applied phenomenology. "Contemporary Issues" dealt with the vocation of thinking, the role of the thinker in developed countries, authenticity and contemporeinity, tradition and modernism, culture and cultural dialogue, national character, liberation theology, dogma and revolution, transfer and creativity, socialism and capitalism, peoples and institutions popular proverbs and mass-culture, socio-political change, disgust, indifference, dialogue, ideologies, fundamentalism and secularism, violence and non-violence, conservation and liberalism ...etc. All these analysis laid the grounds for social phenomenology applied in the Muslim world [2].

10- Hanafi's disciples in Egypt and in the rest of the Arab world are continuing on the same endeavor directly or indirectly on reciprocal reading of phenomenology and Islam. Mahmoud Ragab in

(1) Spinoza: Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, General Book Organization, Cairo 1971.
Lessing: The Education of Human Race, Dar al-Thaqafa al-Jadida, Cairo 1977.
J.P. Sartre: La Transcendence de l'Ego, Cairo, 1976; Anthology of Christian philosophy in the middle age, Alexandria, 1968.

(2) Hassan Hanafi: Contemporary Issues (2 Vols), Cairo 1976-1977; Tradition and Modernism, Arab center for research and publication, Cairo 1980; Philosophical studies, Anglo Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1987; East-West Dialogue (with al-Jabri), Cairo 1991; The Anguish of the scholar and the citizen (2 Vols), Dar Keba, Cairo 1998. Generations Dialogue, Dar Keba, Cairo 1998; Religion, Culture and Politics, Dar Keba, Cairo 1998. Gamal al-Din al-Afghni, Dar Keba,Cairo 1998. From Dogma to Revolation (5 Vols) Madbouli, Cairo 1988. Religion and Revolution in Egypt (8 Vols), Madbouli, Cairo 1989. from Transfer to Creativity (9 Vols), Dar Keba, Cairo 2001. Plus some books are written in English: Religious Dialogue and Revolution, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1977; Islam in the modern world (2 Vols): vol. I Religion Ideology and Development, vol. II Tradition, Revolution and Culture, Dar Keba, Cairo, 2000.

Egypt wrote his PH.D. on Husserl. Yusuf Salama in Syria wrote his MA. on the pure logic according to Husserl. Zarif wrote his PH.D. on phenomenology of Husserl. Other dissertations touched upon applied phenomenology and social sciences. Ula Mostapha Anwar wrote her thesis "phenomenology and social sciences in M. Murleau-Ponty". Habib al-Sharouni wrote the idea of body in M. Murleau-Ponty philosophy and later on translated into Arabic ***L'oeil et L'esprit.*** Said Tawfic specialized in phenomenological Aesthetics by R. Inrgarden, M. Dufrenne, Gadamer and Heidegger. Qudria Ismail wrote on Max Schrler. M. Ragab translated ***Philosophie als strenge Wissenschaft***, Nazli Ismail translated from French ***Meditations Cartesiennes*** already translated by Taysir Sheikh al-Ard in Lebanon. M. Hashem made his dissertation on P. Ricoeur with a translation now in process of ***Temps et Recit***. Sobhi Hanna wrote on Christian phenomenology of Gabriel Maucel. A third generation of disciples are continuing exploring phenomenology with less Islamic reading given the actual bifurcation between fundamentalism and secularism. Phenomenology may have conceded its place to Post-modernism, Deconstructionism and anti-philosophies.



Reason and Emotion

Opposition or Complementarity?

I- Introduction: Conceptual Definitions

1- Dichotomies are very well known in the Western culture since the Greeks till modern times. The Greeks put it as follows: form and matter, substance and accident, one and many, reason and senses, soul and body... etc. and as Aristotle put it in small alpha in his ***Metaphysics***. It continued on through Middle Ages: God and the world, eternity and time, grace and nature, transcendence and immanence, faith and action, innocence and culpability (sin), incarnation and resurrection, damnation and forgiveness ...etc. The same dichotomy continued in modern times and even amplified to become major philosophical systems: formalism and materialism, classicism and romanticism, idealism and realism, rationalism and empiricism, deduction and induction, individualism and communitarianism, capitalism and communism, liberalism and socialism, freedom and necessity, indeterminism and determinism.

2- The dominant logic of the relation between the two sides of the equation is the logic of opposition not of complementarity. It is the logic of "either or", not "both" or "as well as", the logic of difference not the logic of identity, of alternativeness not of togetherness. This is due to the European way of thinking at the

(*) Tampere Club, 27 April, 2003.

beginning of modern times when the global view of Aristotle, Ptolemeo and the Church was rejected for a more partial view compatible with reason and nature and can be proved by deduction like mathematics or by induction like physics.

3- There are many words in each language from the same semantic field. In English: Reason, intelligence, intellect, mind, understanding, spirit. Reason is the natural reason, a global concept, theoretical and practical, epistemological and moral. Intelligence is more the practical reason applied in a special situation as the best solution in the worst crisis. Intellect is the internal ***nous***, a power of thinking. Mind is greatly used in Britain, linked to senses and to other means of knowledge without any difference between Hume and Hegal. Understanding has the same meaning. Spirit is also a total concept, the widest field which signify everything, very little used by philosophers.

In French, ***raison, entendement***, ***intelligence***, ***intellect***, ***bon sense***, ***esprit*** have also variations of the same meaning. ***Raison*** like reason in English as well as ***entendement***, ***intelligence*** and ***intellect***. "***Le bon sense***" is particularly French which means ***la raison simple***, ***l'evidence***, "***la lumière naturelle***", eminently used by Descartes. ***Esprit*** has something to do with refinement and delicacy such as "***L'esprit de finess***" or "***L'esprit de la géometrie***".

In German there are less words: ***Vernunft***, ***Verstand*** and ***Geist***. ***Vernunft*** is the most common word, which corresponds to Reason and ***Raison***. ***Verstand*** is less than ***Vernunft***, more linked to senses and to sense data as Kant described. ***Geist*** is much more than reason, reason in history and in the world. It is not only a cognitive power but also an active power.

In all these usages in different languages reason can be restricted or expanded. It many have a narrow or a wider sense. If it is restricted in the narrowest sense it becomes formal dealing with quantities like in science. If it is stretched to the widest sense it

becomes moral dealing with qualities. The narrow sense deals with facts. The wider sense deals with values.

4- Emotion is used also with different other words in the same semantic field. In English: emotion, passion, feeling and sentiment. Emotion is the intermediate meaning between passion and feeling. Emotion is derived from the same root as movement, because it moves. Passion is more tempestive, more shaking and more deeply rooted in human soul. Feeling is weaker. It does mean only perception through sentiment. 'I have a feeling' means I have a vague knowledge. Sentiment is more related to feeling, namely perception by intuition.

In French: ***Emotion***, ***passion***, ***sentiment*** have similar meanings as in English. ***Passion*** is more classical, used by Descartes and Spinoza. ***Emotion*** is a more modern sense is used by J. P. Sartre. ***Passion de l'âme***, this may be positive like respect, or negative like jealousy. ***Sentiment*** comes from ***sentir*** which means knowing by inner senses.

In German: ***Gefühl*** is the only authentic German word, which is not transliterated from French or English such as ***emotion*** or ***passion***. It refers to one semantic field, the internal world, independent of senses and of reason. From the root ***Fühl*** comes also ***Einfühlung***.

All usages refer to a certain domain in the human being between abstract reason and material senses, a domain of cognition by intuition and pre-sentiment, a domain of direct knowledge without intermediaries from sense data or conceptual definitions.

II- Reason without emotion

1- Reason without emotion is like reasoning without intuition, thinking without thought and walking without direction. Reason without emotion leads to formalism, form without matter. It leads to schematism, an external skeleton without flesh and blood. Arithmetic, geometry, algebra are pure forms without matter. The number, the

point and the symbol have hypothetical existence. They exist in ***Ratio*** not in ***Rei***. Rational knowledge is an external one, for the shape of things not for its essence. It is a picture of Notre-Dam from outside, not a feeling from inside according to Bergson's distinction between ***Intelligence*** and ***Intuition***.

2- Reason without emotion falls also into materialism. The pure form and the pure matter are of the same kind. The two opposites meet. That is why mathematical sciences and physical sciences are from the same order. Modern physics are pure mathematics as symbolized by the theory of relativity. The form is an abstract matter and the matter is a materialized form. Bergson calls this the function of the intelligence, of the discontinuous quantity. The World is a ***Mathesis Universalis*** tried by al-Khawarasmi and Leibniz. Reason, automotion, automation are alike. Reason organizes the system of synchronized movement and coordinated action.

3- Reason without emotion produces a stable, fixed and unmovable worldview based on law and order. Reason stabilizes, controls and holds. It builds a system, transforms the whole world to a totality like Kepler, Galileo, Newton or Einstein. Reason discovers a permanent order and does not describe a changeable process at least in classical physics. Modern physics conceive reality as a process as Whitehead did to the extent that science becomes philosophy and philosophy becomes science.

4- Reason alone is cold. It does not deal with its object before being frozen in order to hold it and subject it to law. Reason deals with mechanics. Even Dynamics have to switch to mechanics in order to discover the laws of movement. Reason deals with universals not with particulars, with the generals not with the individuals and case studies. That is why Kierkegaard revolted against reason defending existence.

5- Reason is the realm of coherence. Truth is ***Adeqnatio Ratio in Rei***. Contradiction is a sign of falsehood. Coherence for

Kierkegaard is death while contradiction is life. No one sacrifices his life for equations and mathematical formulas. Contradictions fascinate and shaken: Abraham killing his son, innocent Jesus crucified, Job the believer in pain...etc.

6- Reason is the space of necessity. Everything in nature goes according to necessary laws which reason can discover and consequently foresee the future events. All individuals are parts of a whole. The whole is not only a logical gender or species but it is a law of control, while human actions are imprevisible. Even the law of nature is undetermined. Freedom is in man as well as in Nature.

7- Reason idealizes, transforming the real to an ideal. Reason by nature transcends, goes always beyond, otherwise it will fall into dogmatism equating the absolute truth to its image in space and time. As far as idealization continues, the power of theorization reaches the point of Archimedes, the theoretical object, self-sufficient and self-existent without any need for actualization or realization. The real world is much less than the ideal world. It does not even deserve to come back to it. Reason alone is extremely optimistic, as it was the case of Leibniz. We are living in the best possible world.

8- Reason is the tool of middle class to rationalize business and to discover the laws of the market. Liberalism is the heir of mercantilism. Max Weber already observed the relation between Protestant ethics and the spirit of Capitalism. Marcuse interpretation of reason as revolution against Comte's positivism is the critical reason not the legitimizing reason. If reason produces knowledge, knowledge is interest as Habermass observed that describes instrumental reason.

III- Emotion without reason

1- Emotion without reason is like reason without emotion, one sided, limping or one-eyed. It is pure matter without form, first *ὕλη*, gelatin or mercury like. It enters directly in the hearts of things

without any conceptual or definitional intermediaries. Emotion likes raw material before being industrialized. It is the first contact with the self or with reality, the first heat generated before being channeled.

2- Emotion deals not with external objects like reason but with internal psychological states, motivations, impulses and feelings. It is more oriented inwards not outwards. That is why it is linked to philosophies of life, of consciousness or unconsciousness, of introspection and of psychoanalysis. The external world cannot be perceived expect in the internal world. The world is ***Lebenswelt*** as Husserl describes. Every consciousness is consciousness of something. In emotion, the unity of the subject and the object is realized.

3- If reason deals with static things, emotion deals with dynamics. Emotion is evasive, elusive and ephemeral. If reason fixes, emotion moves. Flux of consciousness is a major trend in modern novel. If reason deals with space emotion deals with time, the famous Bergsonian distinction between ***Extensio*** and ***Intensio***. Emotion is the internal heat, which reason measures by thermometer. Emotion is the creator of perpetual forms which reason tries to fix and homogenize.

4- If reason is cold, emotion is warm and which may reach a high and intense degree of heat. Emotion is a self-commitment, a readiness for sacrifice. It is a total self-giving, a complete absorption in the other. It requires a retirement, a step back from the world to the self, a ***Blickwendung*** as Husserl demands as pre-requisites for phenomenology. Emotionalism is linked to solipsism and romanticism. Emotion leads to ***Drum*** and ***Strang*** of Lessing, a fire for ***Katharsis***.

5- If reason's objective is coherence, emotion explodes with contradictions. Energy cannot be generated without a positive and a negative. Internal tension in emotion between two contradicting poles triggers energy and movement. Inference goes by intermediaries

while contradiction goes by jumps as Kierkegaard observed. From the aesthetic, to the ethic, to the religious there is a discontinuous link between these three stages. This is also what Bergson called ***Evolution créatrice***. Reason is the tool of science, emotion is the essence of life.

6- If reason is the domain of external necessity, emotion is the domain of internal necessity which is freedom. Freedom is not a ***Libre arbitre*** between two equal alternative choices but following the deepest motivation like a fulfillment of a vocation or a call of the Hero or of the Saint as Bergson describes. To be free is to be one's self, to follow one's destiny. If reason controls and supervises, emotion liberates and innovates. If reason expands in the external world, emotion returns to the internal world. If reason is in ***extensio***, emotion is in ***Tensio***.

7- If reason is tended towards theory and the power of theorization and the transformation of the real to an ideal and the physical to mathematical, emotion keeps the individuality of things and persons. The real has its own concrete metaphysics without being evaporated in the ideal. If reason tends to be theoretical, transforming the whole world to mathematics, emotion tends towards practice and the unity with things. If reason is optimistic having the whole future at hand by knowing the laws of nature and of history and the power of futurology, emotion is more pessimistic, knowing the dramatic aspect in human life, the dialectics between life and death in spite of the call of the Hero. The impulse of life cracks down all social and habitual barriers. If Reason tends to the future, emotion tends to the past. Emotion is nostalgia, a recuperation of the world through memory. Romanticism is linked to the paradise lost, the return to the womb, to get rid of the estrangement of the soul, ***A la recherch du temp perdu*** of Proust.

8- If reason is the tool of the middle class, emotion is a common share in the popular class. Romanticism comes from the streets away from ***La Mode*** of the middle and upper class. Emotion

is a source of creativity and innovation. Romanticism is a revolution against classicism. Neo-Classicism is a recuperation of classicism within romanticism. The ***élan vital*** in romanticism breaks all of the well-established and customary forms.

IV- Complementarity of Emotion and Reason

1- Reason and emotion are two aspests of human consciousness. Emotion begins and reason follows. Emotion is like a horse, reason the Carriage. Emotion is like the body with all its desires, motives and impulses, and reason the eye which clears the obscure, and lighten the darkness. This complementarity of reason and emotion is not based on syncretic vision or a desire for compromise, but a real synopsis of the totality of human life against departmentalization, fragmentation and dismantlement. A simultaneous hold of emotion and reason makes life more balanced and more interactive between matter and form, movement and stability, heat and coolness, opposition and coherence, freedom and destiny, action and theory, realism and idealism, estrangement and hope.

2- Both emotion and reason play the role of intuition and demonstration. Emotion is the intuition, the direct contact with things, the trigger and the initiator. Intellectual, artistic, religious life begins by a given, called revelation, inspiration or intuition. It is different from hallucination and madness. Intuition is cognition, a vision, an insight, an internal perception, a discovery of a meaning, an *άλετεία*. Reason works the demonstration and gives the proofs of the veracity of such intuition. It gives the rational certitude of what has been given before. Intuition is a certain kind of an ***a priori*** while demonstration is ***a posteriori***.

3- Emotion is not only a given, a direct contact with reality, but it is also an expression and a communication. It has its amorphic shape. Reason can shape it in a more articulated form. It transforms the intuition to units of analysis, manageable and transposable. It

puts it into communicative language to disseminate knowledge. Both emotion and reason are necessary for the creation and the transfer of knowledge.

4- Since emotion is related to the internal world expressing and communicating itself in the external world, reason comes to channel such communication and inserts it in other minds and in new fields of actions. Emotion begins by the self, reason expands the self to the other through language. Through emotion and reason the self becomes ***In-der-Welt-Sein*** for a reciprocal dialogue between I and Thou. Life is life in dialogue as M. Buber observed. Reciprocity of emotion and reason like reciprocity of I and Thou.

5- Since emotion and reason are not only epistemological devices but also a practical expansion of the self in the world, from emotion emerges free acts and reason makes them responsible ones. Emotion is the source of spontaneous free acts and reason enlightens them to become responsible acts. Emotion as an impulse needs reason as a refrain. Forward and backward are two complementary movements in human behavior.

6- Both emotion and reason are necessary for creativity. Emotion innovates and discontinues with the past, while reason links and continues with the tradition. Both are necessary for the process of change through continuity. In human relations it is vice-versa, emotion links and reason dissociates. Emotions such as love, sincerity, respect and friendship unify, while reason may count personal interests and measures gains and losses. Emotion is an adventure while reason is precautious. Both are necessary in human life.

7- Emotion may lead to opposition and to conflict while reason may bring reconciliation. Emotion defends individualities, particularities and ideological positions, the identity and the struggle for survival. Reason reconciles, compromises and bridges. Both tend for unity, unity of feeling and unity of common cause, unity from below and

unity from above. Emotion may lead to partisanship, the priority of the self on the other. Reason looks for the ultimate goal for all.

8- In life, in given situations, this triple academic schematization, reason without emotion, emotion without reason, complementarity between emotion and reason yields to the internal dynamics of human action in its circumstances. In some practical situations, reason without emotion may prevail like in the case of national interests concerning peace and War. In some other situations, emotion may prevail on reason such as heroic acts of martyrdom. The logic of opposition in both cases prevails on logic of relation. However, logic of relation is a higher form than logic of substance.



Reason and Faith

A primary outline

1- Each religion exposes this duality in its own terms: Reason and faith in Christianity, reason and scripture, wisdom and religion, wisdom and law in Islam and Judaism. Each expression has its own significance. In Christianity, faith is something given, a sudden conversion like that of Paul, a metanoia after seeing the miracles of the prophet, a gift more than an acquisition. It saves without requiring action except that of faith "Your faith saved you". Epistis is from the same root as Episteme which means that faith is essentially knowledge. In Islam and Judaism faith is referred to as scripture or more literally transmission ***Naql*** or audition ***Sam'***, that means something read or heard, an objective data which needs interpretation, an object of understanding, not a matter of will. It means also religion as a pre-given knowledge or more precisely wisdom ***Hikma*** which is a high form of knowledge. It means also law ***Shari'a*** the concrete religion as modes of behavior in the law as the Tora. Reason ***'Aql*** is the same in each religion. It does not change name. Reason is the same in every culture. It is the same problem in logic of inference, the distinction between argument of reason and argument of authority.

There are two models to determine the relation between Reason and faith, depending on the definition of faith and its name as

(*) Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran 2000.

well as the function of reason since the name is the same. The first model conceives faith as supra-rational and even anti-rational. If faith was rational, reason or faith would have been enough, no need for a duplicate source of knowledge. Tertullianus, Origeenus and Augustin expressed perfectly this model in classical culture. Thomas Aquinas in medieval time made a distinction between natural reason capable of science and philosophy, faith the domain of super-rational mystery and the intelligence of faith, a legitimization of faith by human reason. This trend has been expressed also in contemporary Western philosophy called absurdity, destruction of reason, irrational, non-rational, anti-rational ...etc. Reason is incapable of understanding what goes beyond such a mystery. Faith gives the maximum while reason gives the minimum.

The advantage of this model is the extreme concentration on faith, sincerity of belief, strength of the will, dedication, internal life namely the wonders of faith. Reason has to acknowledge its proper limitations away from human arrogance, assumptions and pretensions. However, the disadvantages are numerous. There is no criteria of validity of faith since it is indemonstrable. This may lead to the isolation of each faith, the lack of dialogue since there is no common understanding of faith. Faith is personal, a given, a gift. Faith does not come or go by argumentation. It is an act of will, not of reason. This may lead also to religious wars since each faith is absolutely true. Faith is the norm for reason and for nature. Philosophy and science have to be implementations of faith. Faith is absolutely right while reason and nature are erroneous. Faith is supra-rational or even anti-rational. Man inherits the original sin in him. He cannot save himself by himself. He needs an external help, a savior. Nature is imperfect and needs grace.

The second model is the identity between Reason and Scriptures. Both Revelation and Reason are from the same order. Revelation is demonstrable, already verified in nature and history. Reason comes

from the same source of Revelation namely Divine knowledge. The function of revelation is to give an a priori certitude on which human reason constructs any rational system for man, nature and society. And to protect human knowledge from relativism, skepticism and agnosticism. It gives also an integral and global worldview, an eye-bird view from above to avoid partial human points of views related to individuals, social classes, diverse cultures and conflicting human interests. Divine knowledge is impartial. Revelation can also shorten the time of research by giving primary working hypothesis already verified in history given the long development of revelation parallel to the progress of human consciousness, in order to leave the maximum human time for implementation of revelation as an ideal structure of the world and the fulfillment of Divine will on earth according to human "Vice-gerancy".

The advantage of this model is the coherence of human knowledge and the concordance between the a priori and the a posteriori, the harmony in human life between the pre-given and the acquired combined in the natural knowledge. It helps reason to be certain, sharp and self-confident. It helps scriptures to be well interpreted. In case of a probable opposition between reason and scriptures, reason is maintained and scriptures are interpreted according to reason. Language permits such an interpretation given the amphibological principles of language such as: the liberal and the metaphoric, the clear and the obscure, the univoc and the equivoc, the vague and the precise, the general and the particular, ...etc. Reason is a tool of clarity and precision. Language is changing, reason is permanent. That was an unanimous agreement between all philosophers such as al-kindi, al-farabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Tofail, Ibn Baja and Ibn Rushed. That was also the position held by the Mu'tazilitles. The possible disadvantage of such model is the literal interpreation of scripture, the misuse of language from the scriptures side or the substitution to reason human passions and conflicting interests excluding natural reasons as it appeared sometimes in Asha'rite theology.

A more perfect and integral relation between reason and faith in Christian term or Reason and Revelation in Islamic term is the analysis of human experiences as ***roh*** material in which both sources of knowledge can be verified. Human experience is the same everywhere, called ***naure*** or ***Fitra***, giving human evidence and providing the good deed. Rational evidence and good deed combined together can be a criteria in any religious dialogue. Man is not only rational but also good. Evidence is offered by Reason, goodness by revelation. The parabolas of Christ enjoy this feature. That is why they were more persuasive for belief and good action [(1)].

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(1) The Research for shared values in Global Governance, the ten commandments:

1- Human survival against genocide, ex: Bosnia, Herzegoneva, Kusovo, against hunger, drought namely the fulfillment of Basic needs.
2- Welfare, distribution of world wealth between rich and poor, North and South against historical rift during the colonial era of the wealth.
3- Peoples rights to complete human rights, the right for audodermination ex: Palestine and Kashmir.
4- The right to know against withholding information, the dissemination of knowledge for all.
5- The right to differ, no absolute standard in defense of authenticity and specificity, not necessarily ethnicity, minority, gender but for citizenship and national cohesion.
6- Equal partnership in world historiography against stereotyped images, center and periphery dichotomy.
7- Universal praxis against words without actions and against double standard ethics.
8- Pluralism on the global level to implement creative diversity, mutual learning, divergences for convergence.
9- Interdependence not global or international interchange, interaction to reach the common values from below, shared values through shared experiences.
10- Modesty against arrogance, Learning not only teaching being subject and object, observer and observed to end inferiority-superiority complex between nations.

Is Being Nothingness?

Heidegger may be the greatest philosopher in Germany before Habermas. A disciple of Husserl but rejecting reduction and uttering judgments on Being as Time. Time means finitude, death, anguish, obsession, idle talk, curiosity, ambiguity, falling, throwness and all negative aspects in the human Being. With Nietzsche and J. P. Sartre, he became a sign of the end of modern times.

He tried to link himself to history of philosophy, the pre-socratics, Duns Scot in scholasticism and Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche and Husserl in modern times, for a new reading of philosophy as ontology. The pre-socratics were philosophers of Being. Duns Scot was also ending scholasticism by a philosophy of Being. Kant in his Transcendental Aesthetics lays the grounds for epistemology as ontology. Hegel is the philosopher ***par excellence*** because ***Geist*** is Being. Nietzsche and Kierkegaard are the two forerunners of Heidegger, and Husserl gave him the method. Logic has metaphysical foundations in Being as Husserl did in "Formal and Transcendental Logic".

Philosophy began again as a reflection on Being, an *αληετεια*, a ***Holzweg***, a question of Being as Socrates was looking for the question of meaning. The major stops in history of philosophy were Socrates, Descartes and Husserl, making meditations as a genre literaire. Thinking is an experience of identity and difference, of human freedom

(*) AUC, Cairo, March 2003.

and of humanism. Finally, Heidegger can be seen as a philosopher of Being, of nothingness or may be of Being as nothingness.



Religion and Science

An outline

1- In ancient Eastern and Western cultures: China, India, Persia, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, religion and science were one discipline. Science came out of religion. Ethics and politics in China aimed at realizing harmony in human and social relations. Buddhist logic and Mathematics came out from the principle of abstraction in Buddhism. Astronomy was the outcome of Babylonian cosmology in Mesopotamia. Chemistry and architecture were motivated by the doctrine of immorality of the soul in ancient Egypt. Aristotle was the philosopher and the naturalist at the same time. Even in Islamic culture, the link between Eastern and Western cultures, science came out from religion, not against it. Islam was founded on the model of identity between revelation, reason and nature. The identity between revelation and reason produced philosophy and mathematics: Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and Music. The identity between Revelation and Nature produced natural sciences: Physics, Chemistry, Medicine, Pharmacology, Biology, Botanic, Mineralogy, Geology. In this model, there was no distinction between mathematical, physical and human sciences. This model is based on the harmony between the order of Revelation, the order of Reason and the order of Nature.

(*) Tehran, Institute of Islamic Philosophy, 2001.

2- The advantage of this model is the unity of truth which implies the unity of human personality and the unity of perception. Man lives in one world, with one vision and one reality. He does not fall into a dualistic worldview, which may be behind a double-standard behavior. The difference between religion and science is only in levels of analysis and scope of vision not in essence or substance. It creates a harmony in the human soul, not discord. However, some risks may occur. The confusion between the two levels of analysis makes unity prevail on distinction. The risk may be also the substitution of a level to another, for example taking the religious level as scientific as it is the case in the scientific interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. A third risk appears if a level monopolizes the two other levels making itself the global and sole criteria. Religion becomes the criteria of science, as it is the case with anti-philosophy or anti-science religious attitudes. As a reaction, science may give itself the right to give the final word. Who can dare to be anti-scientific? A fourth risk may emerge if the religious text is interpreted literally, deducing the meaning only from grammar without depending on metaphors and human experiences. Scientific doctrines may play the same role of literal interpretation. Dogmatism is against both religion and science.

3- In European modern times, another model appeared based on two principles: first the dissociation between mathematical, physical and human sciences. The criteria of validity of mathematical sciences are coherence, the principle of non-contradiction between the premises and the conclusions according to logic of inference and deductive method. The criteria of veracity of physical sciences are the concordance between the hypothesis and the results through experimentation and the inductive method. Human sciences were oscillating between deductive and inductive methods, between mathematical models and case studies based on questionnaires or extensive and intensive experiences. Phenomenology tried to give human science an independent method ***Lebenswelt analyse***. The

second is the opposition between religion and science. The first is a matter of belief without demonstration, an individual and private affair between man and God to obtain salvation after death. The second is a human research based on demonstration, a public sphere dealing objectively with nature, society and history. "give Caesar what is to Caesar and give God what is to God". Any ***raprroachemnt*** between both truths or realities would lead to a contradiction as it happened with Giordano Bruno, Galileo, Newton, Darwin and even Martin Luther and Thomas Muner. Scientists are judged by the inquisition and their works are listed in the "black index".

4- The advantage of such model is the freedom given to science to flourish without any kind of fear from religion or conflict with religious authority. Science takes advantage of this freedom to change systems to the extent of falling into scientific relativism. Nothing is certain. Probability is the rule of science. This realism ends to skepticism, agnosticism, anarchism as in Feyerabend's chaotic theory in "Against method" and "Farewell to reason". However, the disadvantages are greater. First, the double truth appears to legitimize this dissociation between religion and science. Man takes a double attitude, once for nature and another one for God. He gives nature what he takes from God and takes from God what he takes from nature. Science dominates the public sphere, religion fits the private one. Since the public is more important than the private, science becomes a life-style while religion shrinks to pure dogmatism and ritualism. By the nature of things a link between the two may be questioned and an opposition between them may be observed. Then two alternatives appear to assume the unity of truth: the negation of science and the fall into mysticism or the negation of religion and the fall into scientism.

5- A more healthy approach to religion and science is to conceive both as motivation for knowledge. Both are from an epistemological order. Both belong to theory of knowledge. Religion is an ***a priori*** given knowledge according to major human needs. It is

an answer to external questions of life and destiny. It is an answer to a human quest given ***a priori*** for a maximum guarantee of certainty: the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul. The question is ***a posteriori***, the answer is ***a priori***, an example of an inductive-deductive method, looked for by many logicians to prevent human knowledge from the formalism of deductive systems and from the positivism of pure experimentalism without rational foundations. Science is also a source of an ***a posteriori*** knowledge coming from the physical world through observation and experimentation. Since it needs hypothesis, religion as an ***a priori*** knowledge can provide such hypothesis to be verified by the ***a posteriori*** science. Since Revelation, Reason and Nature are from the same order, religion as hypothesis would be easily verified in science. Therefore, religion will have a double certainty, inwards and outwards. Science will also have a similar double certainty in the premises and the conclusion.

6- Both religion and science are not only sources of knowledge but also motivations for action. Religion is only a means to an end, the perfect life, not an end ***per se***. That is why there is no right and wrong in religion by only a dynamic and a static religion. Here religion switches from pure reason to practical reason. ***Praxis*** is the natural outcome of ***Theoria***. Perfection in this life is the prerequisite of felicity in the eternal life. The principles of religions are not closed dogmas, nor material things, nor holy historical institutions. They are only powers to act, energy to be used and traces to be followed. Science is also a mean to master laws of nature for the benefit of human beings. It is the theoretical foundation of technology. Technology aims at easy life. Perfection, the purpose of religion, does not contradict easiness and efficiency, the aim of science. Religion gives science the ethical norms of technology. It prevents the use of energy for mass-destruction but only for peace. It eliminates the negative side effects of science such as pollution, desertification and modern diseases. Christ was at the same time a

prophet and a physician. Moses mastered the laws of nature. Mohammed knew the laws of rise and fall of nations.



Genes the World over

Some philosophical presuppositions

In spite of the importance of genetic engineering and biochemistry which shows the unlimited progress of science, the unlimited power of man and the unlimited hope for a controlled future, philosophers as usual either foresee the event and become real precursors or warn against its occurrence. They are either seers or reminders. Therefore, genetic engineering, in spite of its promises may be based on the following pre-suppositions:

1- Life is made of small units, genes, composed and decomposed, in order to create new organs, including plants, animals or human bodies. The gene is the unit of analysis as if the human being himself is not a unit of analysis, which cannot be decomposed to smaller units, cells, genes or atoms. The old atom theory since Democrats is coming back, the reduction of the whole to its small parts, material according to Democrats and Muslim theologians, spiritual according to Leibnitz, energy according to modem physics and genes in modem bio-chemistry. The world is a material world, which can be fabricated, industrialized and managed, not created from nothing. If God is the creator, man is the demiurge, returning to the primitive concepts of creation. The soul, the realm of freedom and autonomy as a specific creature of human life is obliterated.

(*) Loccum Protokolle 59-97, Evangelische Akademie 1998.

2- In spite of this atomic Worldview, and since all genes are alike, in plants, animals or human beings, genetic engineering loses the principle of individualization, that the ***raison d'etre*** of every being is its individuality against repetition, conformity and interchangeability. The natural yields to the artificial. Chemistry becomes a magic key to recompose and interact. Life can be understood by quantitative analyses, tables of statistics and diagrams of co-efficiencies. Once the principle of individuality is disregarded, individual responsibility and the law of merit are dissipated. Does the duplicate carrying the same genes assume the same moral responsibility of the original? How far moral behavior can be acquired through genes? Will moral determinism be the natural outcome of genetic engineering?

3- Nature is a continuous process of life. Genes are all over. Bifurcation in the law of development is minimal between the high chimpanzee and the human being. Conformity in nature excludes diversification. Conceiving nature as one block dispels its scale and levels of being. It prevails, continuity on discontinuity, development on emergence, Darwin on Bergson. In coning there is no difference between the original and the duplicate. Who is the individual? The individual is by definition one, a singular one, which does not repeat.

4- Life and death are almost an eternal cycle in plants, animals and humans. There is no eternal life through genetic permanent production. The value of life comes from death. A human being who does not die is a monster as ***Simone de Beauvoir*** described in her novel ***Tous les hommes sont mortels***. The end is a natural outcome of the beginning. There is no beginning without end or end without beginning. Such an indefinite linear progress carries its own nihilism. Even modern geometry abandoned the linear concept of space to the curve concept.

5- Genetic engineering does intervene in the normal course of nature by deviating from its natural development, to better

production, create new forms and overcome death. Nature is subtracted out of its own reason to be subjected to human will. Nature becomes cancerous, since the definition of cancer is the multiplication of cells outside their natural order. Genetic engineering may be one of the manifestations of post-modernity and the rejection of order. The old game with nature under the pretext of ***man master of nature*** ended in an environmental disaster, pollution. A similar game with life under the pretext of ***survival*** may end in another disaster, the equation between life and death.

6- Genetic engineering, through coloning, may cancel the distinction between the self and the other. The duplicate, is he the self or the other? Is he identical or different? Is he similar or dissimilar? The confusion may extend to the self itself going outside proportion. The internal tension disappears in favor of external extension. The same confusion may extend to the other, the original or the duplicate. If the other is the original, the duplicated self and the original other will be unequal in time. In both cases, reciprocity of consciousness will be impossible.

7- The medical use of genetic engineering is unquestionable. The use of blood analysis such as DNA in criminology is also undoubted. The multiplication of plants in tissue culture may help in solving the problem of security in nutrition. But, what is the emergency required when coming in an over populated planet? Why artificial multiplication of human beings in a world threatened by scarcity? Human generation has its natural course since pregnancy and infancy till old age, in a human and social context. Filiality and paternity are two human feelings. Progeneration is a natural outcome of love, the unity between male and female, not a simple biological process of multiplication.

8- Genetic engineering is an expensive process once practiced on human beings. Only the rich can afford it. What about millions and millions who cannot? What is better, to spend millions and

millions on genetic-engineering to duplicate future supermen or to help millions of poor people, threatened by hunger, drought, and decease to survive? Genetic engineering may be one of the manifestations of over-developed and affluent societies for more abundance.

9- The whole genetic engineering is haunted by the idea of improving human race. It is tarnished by a high degree of racialism since Plato till modern Nazism. The elite rules. Why not the best? What if the evils are duplicated and the goods did perish? Hitler can be perpetuated in several Hitlers forever. Minorities already suffer from extermination and physical liquidation. Conceiving life as genes is a leftover of social Darwinism responsible for modem radicalism. Life is the life of pure consciousness, the awareness of being, of moral existence. The code of codes in genetic engineering cannot spare the universal code of ethics.

10- Life is in time and space. It manifests in an environment. It cannot be planted outside its proper setting. No one can live outside his own generation. He will be like the Biblical story of the seven sleepers who overslept more than three hundred and nine years. Once awakened, they were unable to survive in another century. Man is made of time. Time is the tissue of human consciousness. Genetic engineering is conceiving the genes outside time, as intemporal entities, while theory of relativity conceived time as the fourth dimension in reality.

These ten philosophical assumptions may alert genetic engineers to be less proud of the progress of science. Progress may include regression. Only a philosopher, with his sense of proportion and moderation, may have a better eye on eternity.



Brain Death and Organ Transplantation

An Islamic Approach

It is a new theme which has not been dealt with in Islamic classical thought, theology or jurisprudence. It imposed itself recently on modern Islamic thinkers.

Many questions have been asked nowadays such as: Is it possible that a donor during his life gives a part of his body to another person or to stipulate this as his testament to be implemented after death? Is it an absolute right or a conditional one? Who is the receiver: a relative, a Muslim or anyone? Is it a trade or a help? When should this happen during the donor's life or after his death? Is it an absolute right of the donor with his formal consent during his life or after his death in his testament or is this right delegated to his family? Can the state intercede between the donor and the receiver in case of emergency like accidents? Is it possible to transplant animal organ into human body? Is it possible to transplant a pig organ into a human body, pig meat being prohibited?

There are at least two opinions: A conservative opinion and a more liberal one. The first expresses traditional Islam, while the second expresses modern Islam. These two opinions are carried by

(*) Loccum Protokolle 61-96, Evangelische Akademie 1997.

the two major schools of thought in Islamic history: Traditionalism and Rationalism.

The first is based on scriptures while the second is based on reason. The first opinion would prohibit such transplantation. God gives and God takes. He determines the life and the death of every being. The soul is independent from the body. The repair of the body will not extend the life of the soul. Brain death is not final death. Jesus Christ resurrected. The seven sleepers, a Ouranic story, had brain death but they came back to life after 309 years. Man is his body. He is individually responsible for his body. Reward and punishment are done on the body as well as on the soul. Human organs will serve in the hereafter as witness for actions done in this world. The body by nature rejects foreign organs as alien. The body is sacred. It cannot be mutilated, dismembered or transplanted. Burning or desacralizing human body is illegal. Before burial, the body has to be cleaned, washed, perfumed and covered by white cloth, may be a leftover of the ancient Egyptian mummification Man cannot donate his own body neither during his life nor after his death throughout his testament because he does not own his body. Man is his body, he does not have it. The body is in the category of being not having. In theology, the body is deposited to man by God during his life and has to come back to God after his death.

This is a more theoretical, abstract and theological approach which does not take into consideration the most common interest of the major foundations of Islamic law. It sacrifices the real goal for the sake of the theoretical belief. It is possible ***de jure*** but impossible ***de facto***. Islam prefers what is real, what is possible in reality.

The second opinion satisfies such demand, i.e., the argument of reality based on the notion of common interest. It has also its global arguments. Life is an absolute value. Life is one of the five universal intentions of the law with reason, value, honor and public wealth. That is why the prolongation of life from a person to another through transplantation is a legal duty which conforms to the

universal intention of the law, namely the preservation of life. It is a realization of a public interest. Minimizing evil is also an affirmation of good in a negative way. Courage to save the other is an ultimate value. If the human body is a deposit from God to man, a deposit, then, is to be used and invested for the common good of the individual and of the community. Charity is an attitude of the self, more general than giving money. Charity is an aspect of generosity which can be material or moral, physical or ethical. Blood donation which is widely accepted in all religions and cultures is a kind of organ transplantation since blood is considered as organ. In great risks, one sacrifices his own life to save. One risks burning in saving a child threatened by fire. One risks his life in saving someone drowning.

If the principle occurs, what are the conditions of such transplantation? First no harm should result from such operation neither for the giver nor for his relatives especially children, parents, husbands and wives. The donor has to be adult, mature and sane, not a child, immature or crazy. It has to be on his own free will, with public consent away from tutorship and communal responsibility. If the donor can give one of his organs during his life time ***a fortiori*** he can do it after his death through his testament. It has to be done before decomposition with complete respect for the corps. The prophetic tradition prohibiting bones cracking of the dead meant that of the still living persons. Nothing in organ transplantation goes against the spirit of Islam. The inheritors of the deceased can give a part of the body for medical use, similar to punishment and pardon. However, the organs of handicapped or deformed children cannot be transplanted even if their survival probability is low or even null, given the respect of life ***per se***. If the person did testify not to donate his organs after his death, his testament has to be fulfilled. The state can play the role of the tutor and decide on organ transplantation once the dead has no tutor.

These general conditions concerning the physical as part of the donor and receiver as such implies other specific conditions

concerning the donor and receiver as moral beings. Can religion be a factor in donation? Organ transplantation can be made for human beings irrespective of the religion, either of the donor or of the receiver. Similarity in religion is ***de facto*** but not ***de jure***.

Allowing organ donation only between two persons from the same religion or cultures is dividing life according to religions and cultures lines. Life has no religion nor culture. Life is life. The blood is the blood. Stipulating transplantation from a non-Muslim to a Muslim but not vice versa or from a non-Christian to a Christian but not vice versa or from a non-Jew to a Jew but not vice versa is a declaration of religious war in biology and medicine. It is human arrogance, religious fanaticism or cultural racialism. All human beings share the same religion, the same culture and the same value, that of mankind.

However, it is not recommended for the dictators, the assassins and the criminals. Their death is a sign of divine mercy. The prolongation of their lives will cause more destruction and more evil. The receiver can be a close or a far relative, a neighbor or a member of the community. Blood and organ banks by fear of commercialization are not allowed.

Some organs can be donated, others not. Double-organs can be donated since the donor can live with one such as: eyes, ears, lungs and kidneys. Hearts, brains, levers cannot be donated since they are one in the body.

The problematic of whether testicles can be considered as body organs to be transplanted for the fear of inheriting moral attributes carried by the genes is not a real issue since testicles are not a matter of life and death. The eunuch lives without. The same thing can be said concerning brain transplantation which is theoretically possible but practically impossible. Once the brain is damaged the person dies. The brain is even more central to human personality than the heart. The brain contains all the centers of perceptions and the knot of the nervous system.

Commercializing body organs is equal to slavery, buying and selling human lives. No one can sell his organ or buy the organ of another. Donating is based on human intentions, not profit.

Organ transplantation from animals to humans is possible including pigs for the Muslims in case of necessity. The prohibition of pigs is for eating not for other uses. The impurity is only outside not inside.

Organ transplantation is only a symbol of survival and prolongation of life. Individual life is not isolated neither on the social level nor on the physical one. Life diffuses, "profuses" and infuses from the individual to another individual according to the degree of closeness. The diffusion of life is not only from the livings to the livings but also from the dead to the livings, not only from human to human but also from animals to humans. It requires free consent without compulsion as it is done to war prisoners. The motive is survival and prolongation of life for human beings not commerce and profit. It is not even a solution for poverty, i.e., poor people selling their organs to rich people. The solution of poverty is more work and equal distribution of national wealth. It is the last resort after consuming all the possibilities of the medical care.

Therefore, the Islamic approach is not that different from other approaches in other religions and cultures. It goes along with the "Guiding Principles on Human Organ Transplantation" declared in May 1987 by the fortieth world health assembly. The radically different cultures and religions in the end may be radically similar cultures and religions.



Alternative Creative Thinking

Prolegomena to Freedom

I- Religion, Revolution, Reform, Revivalism and Freedom

1- The Islamic revolution of Iran was a turning point in Islamic and World history. It gave a fourth model of revolution added to the most three notorious ones: French, American and Russian Revolutions. It is easy to launch a revolution against foreign domination by a national liberation movement, a national front and a national struggle. But it is more difficult to maintain a sustainable revolution. After the victory of the revolution on external domination or internal despotism, the two big trends of every culture and society appear as two contenders for new political power: conservatism and reformism. Conservatism appears from the long historical ***continuum***, coming out of the depth of historical consciousness and as the major component of popular mass-culture. Reformism has been marginalized throughout history in the benefit of the conservatist ruling elite. Conservatism played the role of the sole political and legitimate power while Reformism stayed in the open or secret opposition.

2- The Islamic revolution in Iran is the victory of freedom and the continuation of the revolution is preserved in the name of Reformism. Conservatism is based on imitation, while revolution is

(*) World Conference on Motahari's Thoughts: Religion Freedom of Thinking and Revival of Religious Thought, Tehran, 25-28 April, 2004.

based on creativity. Religion can play a double role, a tool for social control as it is the case in Conservatism and a means for social change as it is the case in Reformism. Conservatism is based on traditionalism, while Reformism is based on Revivalism. Conservatism minimalizes freedom of thinking while Reformism maximizes it. Motahari as one of the leaders of the revolution was a reformer stressing freedom of thinking and the importance of the Revivalism of religious Thought. Religious free thinking leads to progressive religious thought given the blockage of Muslims in history and their stalemate stand between past, present and future. Taking time and space into consideration, religious thinking becomes one of the main ingredients for national culture in which tradition and modernism interacts.

3- Reformism and Revivalism are not alienated from the core of the Islam and its main axe. Both are also fundamental thinking rooted in the very sources of Islam. Any Reform or Revival does not emerge from the very sources. Revivalism is a sort of primitivism. Reform is a certain kind of ***Retour à la source***. Fundamental thinking is the pre-requisite of progressive religious thought. Going a step back is a necessary preparation for taking a step forward. Deep down-underground water goes, higher up water spring goes. This double downward-upward or backward-forward movement is the work of rational thinking. Reason and Reality are also the same. Progress of Revolution is equal to rational coherence, and both are identic to the course of reality.

4- This is the crux of Motahari's thinking. Freedom of thought helps in discovering alternative creative thinking in the spirit of revivalism called traditionally religious spirituality. Spirituality in Islam is not a limping one, or void from action in the world, or a cover-up for the material world in a dualistic vision spiritual-material, sacred-profane...etc. A unitarian world is more integral than a dualistic one even with complementarity. That is why dialogue with other worldviews is possible, based on knowledge of the world

in its integrity, recognition of its parts and the linkage between divergences. This is what is called wisdom, namely the unity between knowledge from above and humility from below.

5- The personality of Motahari is only a symbol of what he stands for: Religion, Revolution, Reform, Revivalism, Renaissance, Re-thinking, Re-inventing...etc. Tradition begins, Modernism begins again. The past launchs, the present continues. The person flows in the historical process, a drop in the big ocean according to Iqbal's image. The person is his ideas, and ideas are poured in Thought and Culture. Immortality is not an individual one, a personal acquisition, but through culture as Averrois observed. Human reason is only a spark from the Universal Reason. This philosophical approach is the same as the scientific one. Person and Culture never disappear. They are eternal. The body as matter is metamorphosed from macro-biology to micro-biology and again from micro-biology to macro-biology to complete the life cycle, from the disintegration of the body in earth to the re-integration of the ashes in Botamics re-cycled in human life through nutrition. The cycle between life and death is an eternal cycle. Ideas are profused in history in the minds of future generations. Ideas never die. They are eternal in culture, the continuous accumulation of ideas.

II- Alternative Thinking in Cultural Cycles

1- Islamic culture is not one cycle in history, the classical one accomplished in the first seven hundred years reaching its peak in the fourth century and ending in Ibn Khaldun who tried to write the history of this first cycle showing how it began and why it ended; then, from the Bedouin life to the urban and from the urban life to the Bedouin again. Islam emerged in the first cultural cycle, the Greco-Roman Westwards, and the Perso-Indian Eastwards. Translation has been done from the West and from the East alike with big admiration of the sciences of the predecessors. Aristotle is the first master and al-farabi the second, Ptolemeo is the first and al-

Hazem the second. Socrates is the wisest of all men. Galien is the best of all the ancients and the moderns. Greek philosophy and Islamic philosophy are twins. Aristotle could have been the disciple of Mohammed and Mohammed could have been the disciple of Aristotle. Philosophy and Prophecy are two ways arriving to the same truth as symbolized by ***Hay ibn Yakthan*** of Ibn Sina and Ibn Tofail.

Now, time changed. History is no more in the classical period, the Greco-Roman or the Perso-Indian cultural cycle but in modern times, Euro-American Westwards and Japano-chineese Eastwards. Translations began in the last two centuries from the West more than from the East. That made Islamic cultural worldview Westwards oriented, creating the phenomena of Westernization and its reaction as fundamentalism. Islamic Culture now begins again a second cycle of cultural dialogue with neighboring cultures as it did with the classical ones. New Islamic disciplines have to be formed beginning by the reconstruction of the classical ones according to cultures of modern times.

2- Not only did external neighbors change but also the internal position of Muslims did change from classical time to modern times. In the past, Muslims were victorious. Their power stretched Eastwards to Persia, India, Central Asia, South East Asia till China, and Westwards to North Africa and Eastern Europe. Previously, Muslims were liberators of peoples from Roman and Persian domination, from Cesars and ***Kisras***. In less than fourty years the whole ancient world was islamized. Now on the contrary, Muslims are defeated militarily, economically, politically and even intellectually. The Muslim World from Morocco to China has been colonized by Western and Eastern powers. In spite of modern heroic liberation movements and the formation of New Nation-States Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Kashmir, Sewpta and Melilia are still occupied. The Nation State lost its independence and became oppressive inside and dependant on Western powers outside.

Muslims were previously masters of knowledge and science. They absorbed previous sciences, completed them and were transmitted later to Mediaeval Europe before the era of modern times. Nowadays, Muslims are transferring knowledge and science from the West, consuming not creating, disciples not masters. They are imitating the past, repeating what has been created before in spite of the change of times, or transmitting what has been created in the West. In both cases, imitation, not creation, is the source of knowledge.

In the past, Muslims had self-confidence. They did not have any inferiority complex ***vis à vis*** neighboring cultures. They admitted the share of all cultures in making one universal human culture, diverging in languages and national cultures but converging in one universal code of ethics. They were the carrier of a message of unity, equality, freedom and justice. Nowadays, Muslims are dependant on others. They may have a complex of inferiority ***vis à vis*** the past tradition coming from the ancestors as well as ***vis à vis*** the modern coming from the West. They are frustrated, indifferent or in despair.

3- The Tradition includes three branches of disciplines: Scriptural sciences which depend only on scriptures as data and as methods of understanding. They are five: ***Qur'an***, ***Hadith***, ***Tafsir***, ***Sira*** and ***Fiqh***. They were left as they are in the past without any use of reason. Even relevant topics useful to modern times are not seen such as reality or space in ***Asbab al-Nuzul***, time and progress in ***al-Nasikh wa al-Mansukh***. Classical ***Hadith*** was more oriented towards the critique of narratives ***Sanad*** rather on the critique of text ***Matn***. ***Tafsir*** is still piecemeal and longitudinal rather than thematically and in width. ***Sira*** personified the Message to the point of falling into the personality cult with huge amplification of the image by extreme veneration and glorification. ***Fiqh*** is still giving absolute priority to rituals ***'Ibadat*** on social relations ***Mu'amalate***.

Pure rational sciences are mathematical sciences: Arithmatics, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Music, or natural sciences: Physics, Chemistry, Medicine, Pharmacology, Biology, Botanics, Mineralogy...etc. They have been repeated without knowing how these pure rational sciences came out from Revelation, to pursue them in modern times. Instead, they were substituted in Muslim consciousness by Western new sciences, creating a split between old creativity and modern transfer.

4- Scriptural Rational Disciplines have to be reconstructed according to modern circumstances. New theological innovation, new philosophical approaches, new jurisprudential initiatives and new mystical outlooks have to be conceived. Changing old language to a more modern one and changing levels of analysis and focus are necessary.

5- Traditional language has to yield to a modern one. Theological, dogmatic, historical, legal and abstract terms have to change to a more human, open, natural and concrete other terms. Old terminology are related to classical neighboring cultures, Greco-Roman and Perso-Indian. The West is challenging other cultures with humanism, Rationalism, openness, criticism, in language and scope. The West is calling for dialogue which requires a common language used by all cultures. There is now a common language for dialogue not the particular ones of each culture. It is an open, rational and evident language. Some old terms are now obsolete like freedom in opposition to slavery. Freedom now has a new meaning, freedom of speech, of movement and choice. Slavery became obsolete. New terms did not exist in the past lexicography but relevant to modern times like, democracy, national liberation, mass-culture, parliament...etc. Other terms became ambiguous in the neighboring cultures like ***Jihad***, ***Dar al-Islam***, ***Dar al-Harb*** which require new clarifications such as liberation war, colonized, colonizer...etc. Hermeneutics are the practice of freedom of Thought for cultural revivalism.

6- The old level of analysis, the Divine, has to change to a more modern one, the human. God was the center of thinking in classical cultures. Now, it is man. It is necessary to switch from theocentrism to anthropocentrism, from historicism to humanism, from dogmatism to criticism, from literalism to hermeneutics...etc. This can be done in the four classical scriptural-rational sciences: Theology, philosophy, Jurisprudence and Mysticism. Creative thinking begins by changing choices and alternative perspectives. Threats in the old time were directed to the creed, not to land since Muslims were victorious on the ground. They won the battle of theoretical ***Tawhid***. Now, threats are coming from the ground, to land, peoples, cultures, wealth, markets and raw materials. New Theology faces new challenges in defense of practical ***Tawhid***. Man and society, citizens and nations, power and wealth can be the very center of all new disciplines.

III- Changing Choices and Creative Thinking

1- Classical Theology did express the conflict of power between contenders of political authority. Dogmatic Sects are in reality political parties. The ruling power profuses its creed prevailing obedience to authority on opposition to it. The Attributes of God are similar to the attributes of the ***Sultan***. Both are Omniscient, Omnipotent, Eternal Life. Both hear, see, speak and will. Predetermination prevails on free will and libre arbiter. The Text is the very foundation of Reason. Reason is incapable of judging alone. Reason needs Revelation's tutorship. Faith is self-sufficient and is not substantiated in action. Political authority is the monopoly of ***Kuraish***. There is only one saved sect and the rest of seventy two sects are punishable.

This classical old theology needs to be reconstructed in a new theology, from the credo of the ruling elite to the credo of the Mu'tazilite. Open and national opposition is better than the violent armed or the underground secrets ones. The theory of Essence,

Attributes and Acts is not only applicable to God but also to man as Ibn Arabi and al-Jili described in the theory of the "Perfect Man". It is better for every Muslim to be alive, powerful, knowledgeable, hearing, seeing, speaking and willing than to be dead, ignorant, incapable, deaf, dumb, and unwilling and worshiping Living, Knowing, Doing, Hearing, Seeing, Speaking and Willing God. Reason can interpret the Text to implement the need for rationalism. Action is the essence of faith in a culture suffering from more words and little deeds. Political authority is the representation of the people without being monopolized by kings or officers. Pluralism can be substituted to monolithism and the transfer of power to the monopoly of power.

2- Classical philosophy is tripartite: Logic, Physics and Metaphysics. Logic is formal. Physics are material. Metaphysics are mythical. It is possible in new philosophy to switch from formal logic to logic of consciousness to describe Muslim living experiences. Classical physics can become poetic physics to bring Muslims again in the midst of the world. Old Metaphysics can switch to modern metaphysics of man since anthropology fails in classical philosophy. Man is divided into two: body in physics, and soul in metaphysics. Man was never an autonomous horizon. In modern philosophy, practical philosophy, Ethics, Politics, Economics can prevail on theoretical philosophy, logic, physics and metaphysics. Modern culture is essentially human and social, within the framework of global philosophy of history. It is possible to make a new philosophy of history where Western historical times are coming to an end after seven centuries while Muslim modern times are beginning a third seven centuries (14-21) after the first seven centuries (1-7), the golden age, and the second seven centuries of memorization (7-14).

3- Traditional Jurisprudence gave priority to text on reality in the classical order of four sources: ***Qur'an***, ***Hadith***, ***Ijma'*** and ***Qias***. To encourage ***Ijtihad*** and open its doors again, an ascendant order

from reality to text may prevail on the descendant order from text to reality. Other sources of Jurisprudence which has been marginalized in the past can be put forward again such as ***Istihsan***, ***Istislah***, ***Istiqra'***, primitive innocence ***Bara'a Asliya***, Reasoning ***Istidlal*** and all the rules of ***fiqh***, ***al-qawa'id al-Fiqhiya***, maximizing the welfare and minimizing the damage. Amphibological principles help in interpreting the text for human benefit. Norms of conduct are not imposed on human behavior but they reveal human nature, the sense of duty and the choice of freedom. The five intentions of ***Shari'a***: The preservation of Life, Reason, Value, Human Dignity and Public Wealth can answer many modern questions of human and peoples rights as well as questions on secularism. The four legal systems inherited from the past based on Reason (***Hanafite***) or public welfare (***Malikite***) can be reconstructed as one legal system in which the unity between Revelation, Reason and Reality appears.

4- Traditional Mysticism was a kind of passive resistance against the usurpation of power and the accumulation of wealth and after the extermination of the physical resistance led by the family of the prophet ***Ahl al-Bayt***. That is why mystical value-system offered passive values such as: Patience, ***Sabr***, Resignation, ***Rida***, Reliance, ***Tawakkul***, fear, asceticism...etc. The mystical road was vertical and the final goal was up-ward. Nowadays, physical resistance is efficient in southern Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Kashmir...etc. It is possible then to have a new value-system based on positive values such as: Revolt, rejection, protest, negation, opposition to give the masses an ideology of revolt against the ideology of power given to the ***Sultan***. The goal in new mysticism is not upward but "ourward", not in eternity but in time, not vertically but horizontally. In classical mysticism the movement is from outward to inward to upward. In new mysticism the movement is vice-versa from upward to inward and from inward to outward.

5- Once classical disciplines are reconstructed according to modern cultural and socio-political circumstances, Muslims can

pursuit their role and carry on their message in history. Muslims now are living in the periphery, no more in the center as they were previously. They are again the subject of the most horrible aggression on peoples, land and culture. They have been colonized, decolonized and the recolonized. They have the material power and the moral capacities to form a second pole in this uni-polar system. They are resisting the New American Empire stretching from the western hemi-sphere to the Eastern hemi-sphere, from the West to the East, From America to Asia via Europe and Africa. They are forced to accept the American Agenda for reform: Globalization, end of history, clash of civilizations, information revolution, civil society, human rights, governance, minority rights, gender rights, terrorism and lately the Great Middle East, including Israel. However, Muslims have their own agenda even implicit and unspoken: Decolonization, freedom and democracy, social justice, unity, sustainable development, identity and mass-mobilization. The actual balance of power imposes the external agenda. Who knows, may be in the future, once the balance of power changes, Muslims can impose their own internal agenda.



Is Mulla Sadra a Phenomenologist?

The Relation between Theosophy and Phenomenology

I- Introduction: Husserl and Mulla Sadra

1- For any historian of philosophy and Hermeneutics the relation between theosophy ***Ishrak*** and phenomenology is obvious. Two examples can be given: ***Hikmat al-Ishrak*** of al-Suhrawardi and ***al-Hikmat al-Muta'aliya*** of Mulla Sadra. The first presented transcendental logic while the second introduced transcendental wisdom [1].

2- There are two ways to compare phenomenology and transcendental wisdom. First to expose the major axes in phenomenology and then reconstruct transcendental wisdom according to these axes. Second, to expose the major axes in transcendental wisdom and then reconstruct phenomenology according to these axes. This is a new way of comparison, it is not done through similarities and differences but through the double mirror, the interplay between the self and the other, transcendental wisdom and phenomenology.

3- There is no right and wrong in such comparison but only a description of both phenomenology and transcendental wisdom as

(*) World Congress on Mulla Sadra, Tehran, 21-25 May 2004.

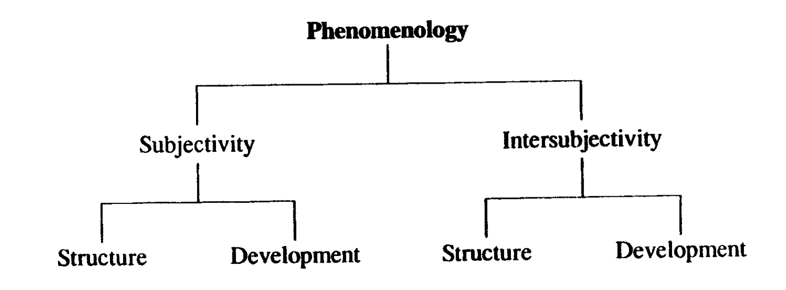
(1) Hassan Hanafi: Hikmat al-Ishrak and phenomenology, Dirasat Islamiya, Anglo-Egyptian bookshop, Cairo 1981, pp. 273-343 (in Arabic).

they are. The same problematic may have the same solution or different solutions. A problem may exist in phenomenology such as intersubjectivity, not in transcendental philosophy. A problem may exist in transcendental philosophy such as eschatology and not in phenomenology.

4- The comparison is based mostly on the major works of Husserl while in the case of Mulla Sadra is based only on "Transcendental Wisdom" the most systematic work on theosophy. His other works are details or applications of his systematic philosophy. Only primary sources were used not secondary literature. It is one approach which does not exclude any other approaches. References in details are not provided since major sources in both cases are widely known. Only Husserl works are mentioned in general as motivations and only *al-Asfar* (1).

II- Phenomenology and Transcendental Wisdom

1- phenomenology as a philosophy has two aspects: Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity. Each aspect is a double facet; structure and development (2).



(1) Also is mentioned my Dissertation on Husserl: L'Exégèse de la phénoménologie, l'état actuel de la méthode phénoménologique et son application au phénomène religieux, Paris 1966, Le Caire 1977 (Ex. Pheno.).

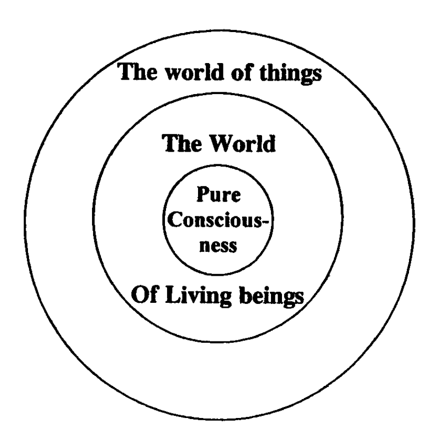
(2) Ex. Pheno. pp. 257.

2- The structure of subjectivity is based on three regions:

1- The region of pure consciousness.

2- The world of living beings (The Human World).

3- The world of things (The Natural World) [1].



3- The development of subjectivity appears in the division of each region into three stages:

1- The World of things (The Natural World)

a- Nature in general.

b- Layers of ontic sense.

c- Sensibility of the body.

2- The living nature (the problem of the pure self as condition and consequence)

a- The animated nature.

b- The animated nature through the body.

c- The animated nature of the intropathy.

(1) Ex. Pheno. pp. 258-260.

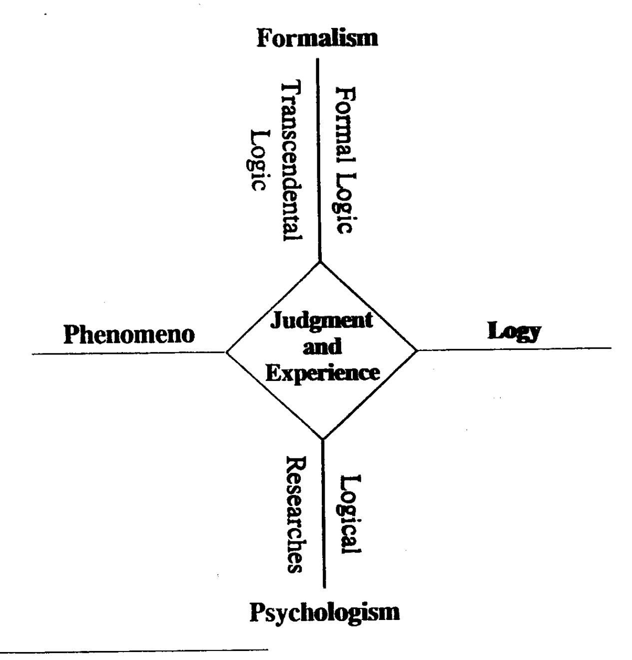
3- The spiritual world

a- The opposition between the natural world and the personal world.

b- The motivation in the personal world.

c- The pre-imminence of the personal world [1].

4- The development of subjectivity in phenomenology is to bridge the gap firstly between Empiricism and Formalism by elevating empiricism from the form of psychologism to the level of pure consciousness in an ascendant movement and secondly by lowering formalism to the level of pure consciousness in an descendant movement. Both ascending and descending lines meet in the consciousness where judgments are based on living experiences, phenomenology being the third way between formalism and empiricism.



(1) Ex. Pheno. pp. 271.

5- Also logical researches ***Logische Untersuchungen*** correspond to this second passage from reality to truth. They represent an ascendant movement as follows (1):

↑

6- Research VI
- a- Understanding.
- b- Sensibility.

5- Research V
- a- Mens.
- b- Content.

4- Research IV
- a- Independence.
- b- Dependence.

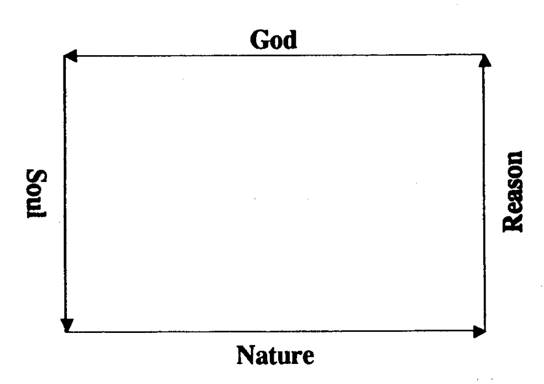
3- Research III
- a- All.
- b- Parts.

2- Research II
- a- Abstraction.
- b- Ideal unity.

1- Research I
- a- Signification.
- b- Expression.

In transcendental wisdom, the soul is one of the four journeys.

(1) Ex. Pheno. pp. 269.



It is still conceived as a substance having several accidents, a psychological concept of the soul like *ψηχή* linked to *ςομά*, separate from *πνευμα*. The old theological problem of the separation of body and soul is still dominant, the ***soma*** and the ***psyche*** are mortal while the ***pneuma*** is immortal. It is also a space concept not time one [(1)].

6- In Transcendental Wisdom the soul has five external senses: sight, audition, smell, touch and taste, and five internal senses: memorization ***Tathakkur***, conservation ***Hafizah***, imagination ***Takhayyul***, presumption ***Tawahhum*** and the common sense, ***al-Hiss al-Mushtarak*** [(2)].

There is also a distinction between impressions ***Intiba'ates*** and sensations ***Ihsasates*** in both phenomenology and transcendental wisdom. Impressions are only related to senses, raw material. Sensations are more cognitive before conceptualization.

Both phenomenology and transcendental wisdom reached independently a double-ray theory of perception, a ray from the object to the subject which is impression encountered by another ray from the subject to the object which is sensation, or attention. This double-ray theory lies behind intentionality, the structure of consciousness [(3)].

(1) Asfar VIII, pp. 1-400.
(2) Asfar VIII, pp. 155-211.
(3) Asfar VIII, pp. 187-205.

Both phenomenology and transcendental wisdom conceive a world of images ***Abschattungen***, a third world between the external world and the internal world, which Kant already called Transcendental Schematism. In phenomenology it is closer to things while in transcendental wisdom, it is closer to the self [1].

7- ***Formale und Transcedentale Logik*** corresponds to the fourth journey, the passage from the formal to the transcendental corresponds the fourth descendant vertical journey from truth to reality in transcendental wisdom. The same passage was made in philosophy of Arithmetic ***Philosophie der Mathematik*** to criticize formalism in case of psychologism, also repeated in the concept of number ***Zahalbegriff***.

8- The descendant movement goes from formal logic to transcendental logic as follows [2]:

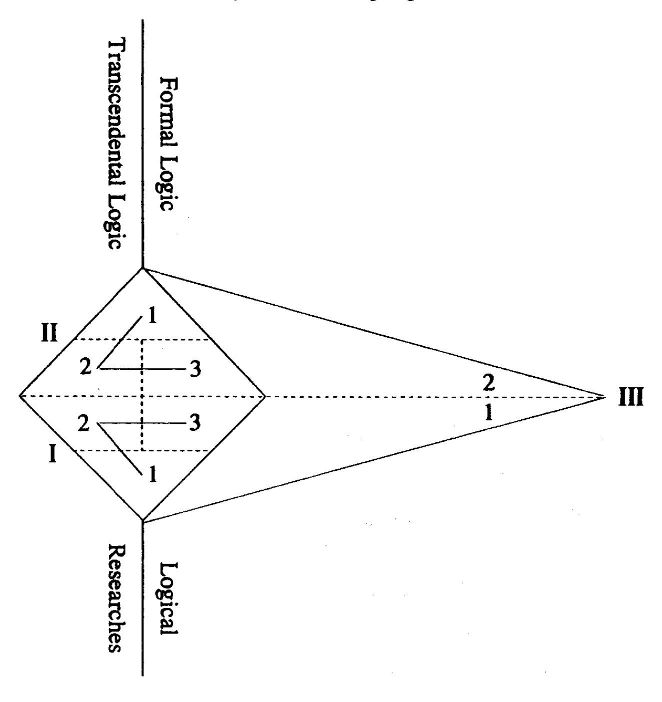
Formal Logic
Apophantic
Mathematic
Multiplicity
Object → judgment
Sense → Truth
(Idealism)

Transcendental Logic
Evidence of principles
Transcendental philosophy
Objective logic and Phenomenology of Reason
Transcendental Psychology
Evidence of the Experience
(Realism)

(1) Asfar IX, pp. 70-71.
(2) Ex. Pheno. pp. 270.

Transcendental philosophy also criticizes theological formalism in conceiving Being, depending on the critique of Aristotle to theory of ideas of Plato [1]. All the categories of Aristotle in transcendental wisdom need to come down in the mind as the categories by Kant [2].

9- Experience and Judgment ***Erfahrung und Utreil*** corresponds to also the fourth journey, the passage from truth to reality, looking for the pre-predicative experience behind the formal judgment. The structural development of experience and judgment is as follows [3]:



(1) Asfar II, pp. 46-82, IV, pp. 195-237.
(2) Asfar IV, pp. 8-283.
(3) Ex. Pheno. pp. 221-272.

I- Ante-predicative experience (Receptive)

1- General structure of passivity.

2- Simple taking and explanation.

3- Taking the relation and its foundation in the passivity.

II- Predicative thinking and objectivities of understanding

1- General structure of predication and the genesis of the most important of categorical forms.

2- Objectivities and their origins in predicative effectuations.

3- Origin of modalities of judgments.

III- Constitution of objectivities in general and forms of general judgments

1- Constitution of empirical generalities.

2- Acquisition of pure generalities by the method of vision of essence [1].

10- Phenomenology is a return to things themselves and a discovery of reality as living experiences in pure consciousness in the internal feeling of time [2]. Transcendental wisdom confirms the authenticity of Being as something irreducible to cognition. It begins by the Nature of Being before the theory of knowledge [3]. In Phenomenology there are five modes of beings such as reality, possibility, which correspond to five acts of consciousness such as conjecture, hypothesis ...etc. In transcendental philosophy there are the three judgments of reason: Possibility, necessity and impossibility [4].

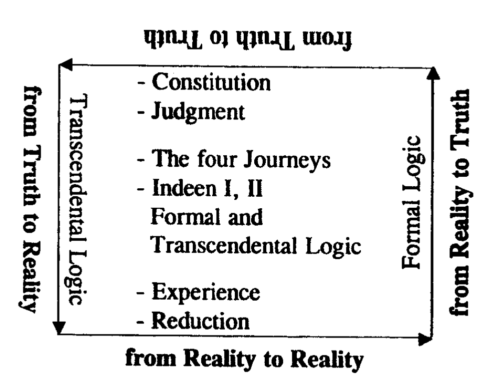
11- Transcendental wisdom has also its dynamism not only in the four journeys but in the relation between the passage from ***potentia*** to ***Actus***. It appears also in the analysis of different forms of movement.

(1) Ex. Pheno. pp. 267-269.
(2) Husserl: La conscience interne du temps.
(3) Asfar I, pp. 38-83, VI, pp. 11-112.
(4) Asfar I, pp. 161-262.

Things exist renewing themselves. Existence is existentialization, not a substance but a process [1]. Phenomenology is more static. That is why it switched later from static phenomenology to dynamic phenomenology [2].

III- Phenomenological Method and Asfar

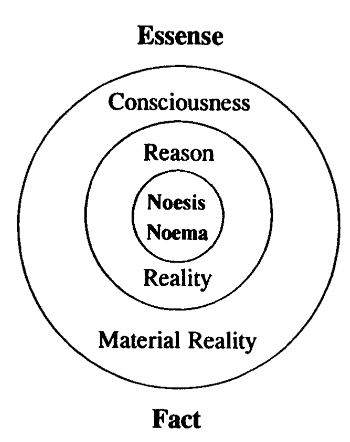
1- Phenomenology is a method based on three rules: Relation, constitution and clarification. The Asfar are four: Reality ***Khalk*** to Truth ***Haqq***, from Truth to Truth, from Truth to Teality and from Reality to Reality. How far these three rules and four passages ***Asfar*** correspond to each other?



2- Reduction. ***Reduktion*** is the first rule in phenomenology in ***Ideen I***. It corresponds to the passage from the second journey, the passage from Reality to Truth. Reduction means putting the material thing between brackets, *ἐποχη*, outside attention, in order to free cognition from positivism and the material world and the horizontal passage from Reality to Reality in favor of a vertical passage from

(1) Asfar III, pp. 1-93, IV, pp. 193-204.
(2) Ex. Pheno. pp. 24-100.

Reality to Truth [1]. The reduction of the fact maintains the essence. The material reality is put outside the attention of the consciousness. Reality is only a ***noema***, reality as a lived experience, while reason is the ***noesis***. Both are two dimensions of the consciousness, a double movement from the subject to the object and from the object to the subject, unified in the same Intentionality [2].



In transcendental wisdom, reason can understand reality, the subject can seize the object. However, this seizure is not static, the subject standing in front of the object, but a dynamic one. Reason unifies itself with the object in a process of ideation as M. Scheler called it. Essences are made and created ***Maj'ul***. Being is extense or intense once the object is lived by the subject [3].

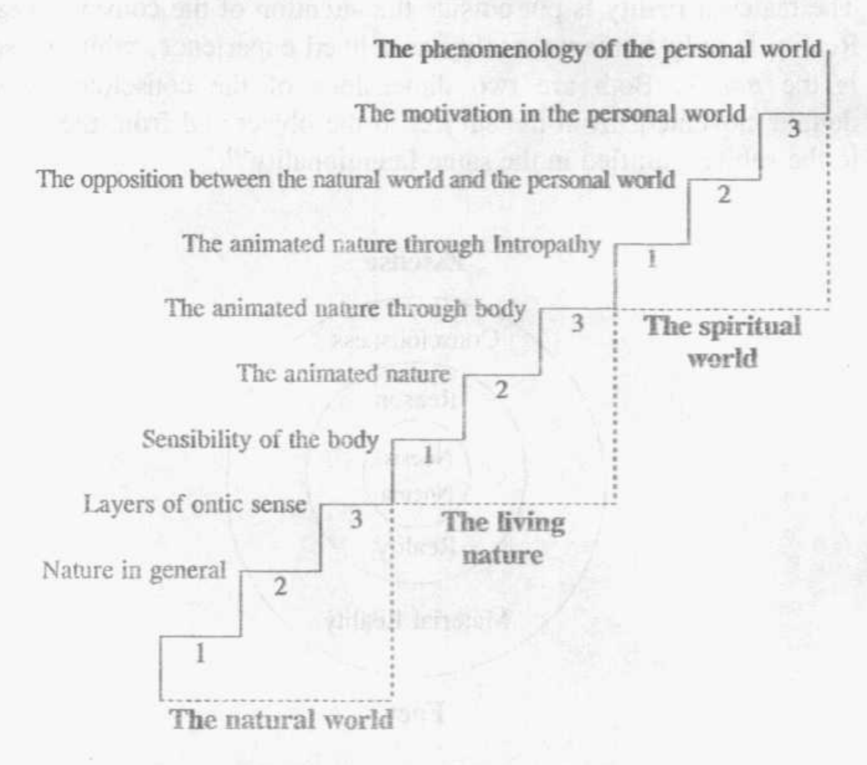
3- Constitution. ***Konstitution*** is the second rule in phenomenology exposed in Ideen II. It corresponds to the second ascendant passage

(1) Asfar I, pp. 20-23.

(2) Asfar I, pp. 419-467, III, pp. 278-300, 418-447, Ex. Pheno. pp. 261-263.

(3) Ideen I.

in transcendental wisdom from Reality to Truth[1].



4- In phenomenology, essences are pure, simple and universal. Facts are only carriers of the meanings. In transcendental wisdom, the images are also pure, not linked to the body or to the biological powers of the soul [2].

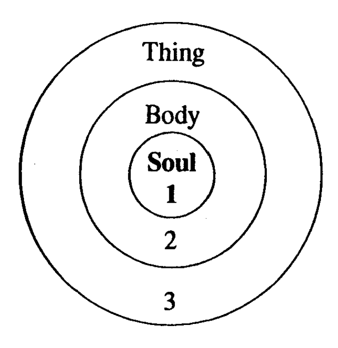
5- In phenomenology, the essence is constituted in the internal feeling of time after putting the fact in space between brackets. The fact in space is transcendent while the essence in time is transcendental. Time is pure quality as Augustin and Bergson observed[3]. The world

(1) Ideen II, Ex. Pheno. pp. 264-265.
(2) Asfar I, pp. 299-302, III, pp. 300-305.
(3) Husserl: La conscience interne du temps, PUF, 1964.

is created in the moment of being felt in consciousness as Husserl described in ***Ursprung der Welt***(1). In transcendental wisdom, time is still linked to movement, the number of movements as it is the case in classical philosophy and in Aristotle. Time is divided into small parts. It is linked to cosmological time as it appears in the problem of eternity and contingency. God is permanent while the world is created in time (2).

6- Clarification is the third rule in phenomenology. It corresponds to the third passage from Truth to Truth in transcendental wisdom to be sure of the clarity and simplicity of the meaning, free from confusion and complexity. Clarification is based on different degrees of distinctions between confused essences. Distinctions are also made to discover different levels of Being, its structure and its unity. They form a dialectical method. They formed also a reform movement in history (3).

7- The structure of the method of clarification is three intertwined circles as follows (4):



(1) Ursprung der Welt.
(2) Asfar II, pp. 14-15, III, pp. 115-183, 244-277.
(3) Ideen III, Ex. Pheno. pp. 350-429.
(4) Ideen III, Ex. Pheno. pp. 266-267.

1- Phenomenology (Soul).

2- Psychology (Body).

3- Ontology (Thing).

IV- phenomenology and transcendental wisdom as cultural visions

1- Phenomenology is the accomplishment of transcendental philosophy since Descartes and Kant, from ***Cogito*** to ***Cogitatum***, from ***Ich denke*** to ***Sachen selbst***. Each consciousness is consciousness of something. The subject and the object are two poles for the same consciousness, called Intentionality [1].

2- Intersubjective experience is not only a cognitive experience between two individual consciousness but also an accumulative, cultural and historical experiences. Applied to European collective consciousness the description of its structure and development can be as follows:

1- The origin:

a- Greco-Roman origin.

b- Judeo-Christian origin.

c- European popular culture.

2- Point of departure: Cartesian ***Cogito***

a- Ascendant line: Le Rationalism.

b- Descendant line: Empiricism.

c- Juxtapositional unity: Critical Idealism.

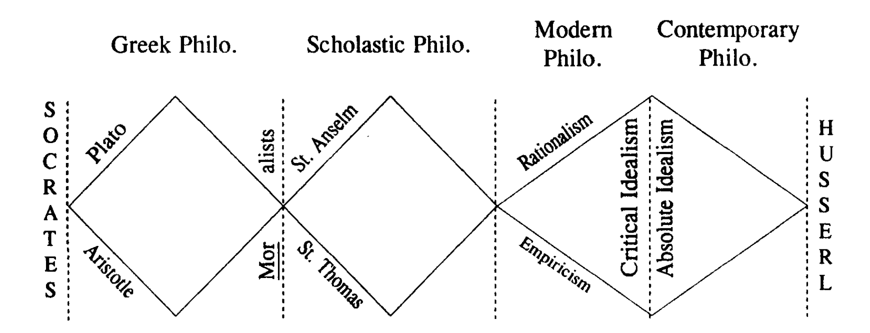
d- Absolute Idealism.

3- Final point: Phenomenology.

3- The same teleological history of philosophy has been made in "Cartesian Meditations", from ***Cogito*** to ***Cogitatum***, from

(1) Ex. Pheno. pp. 274-348, 430-436.

Descartes to Husserl, a point of departure and a point of arrival. There are three phases of European philosophy: The Greco-Roman, the scholastic and the modern. Each phase has three types of philosophy: Philosophy of life in the center: Socrate, St. Augustin, Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza, Kant; Empiricism or naturalism: Aristotle, Thomas Acquinas, and modern Empiricism: Bacon, Locke, Hobbes, Hume...etc. In contemporary philosophy destruction of reason began as well as the critique of naturalism and positivism in order that the two lines meet in a focal point, Phenomenology [1].



1- Greco-Roman origin.

a- Philosophy of Life (Socrates).

b- Philosophy of Reason (Plato).

c- Philosophy of Nature (Aristotle).

d- The accomplishment of Greco-Roman culture (The moralists).

2- The Judeo-Christian origin

a- Plotin.

b- St. Augustine.

(1) Ex. Pheno. pp. 340.

c- St. Thomas.

d- Dans Scott.

e- Nicolas of Cusa.

3- Modern philosophy

a- Point of departure (The Cartesian *Cogito*).

b- The ascendant line (Rationalism).

c- The descendant line (Empiricism).

d- Critical Idealism.

4- Contemporary philosophy

a- Absolute Idealism.

b- Phenomenology.

4- The development of all human sciences reflects that development from the beginning to the end. For example, first philosophy *Erste philosophie* and then, phenomenological psychology *Phänomenologische Psychologie*.

5- Transcendental wisdom is also a cultural vision, the accomplishment of Islamic logic of al-Farabi with the illumination of Ibn Sina. It is also a reformation of ***Hikmat al-Ishrak*** of Sahrawardi and of ***al-Mabahith al-Mashriquia*** of al-Razi. It combines the mystical tradition of Ibn 'Arabi and al-Ghazali with the philosophical tradition of al-Farabi [1]. It is also a continuation of the same Greek tradition combining Aristotle with Plato with Pythagore and Socrates [2].

---

(1) The importance of the main transitions in Islamic philosophy can be seen in the repetitions of philosophers and mystic names such as: Ibn Sina (212), al-Razi (59), al-Suhrawardi (55), al-Tusi (33), Ibn 'Arabi (26), al-Farabi (21), al-Dawani (20), Behmeniar (19), al-Ghazali (9), al-Qunawi (8), Damad (6), al Sadre al-Shirazi (6), al-Rumi (3), Ibn Taleb al-Makki (2), al-Bustami, el-Junaid (1) ...etc.

(2) Aristotle (64), Plato (54), Enbedocles (11), Phythagore (10), Socrates (8), Porhyre (4), Aghathemos, Anexemans, Alexandre, Galien (3), Democrites, Themestius (2), Proclos, Porphere, Thales (1).

V- Phenomenology as a religious vision

1- According to the phenomenological Exegesis Hussel's last work interprets the antecedent work since phenomenology was a gradual passage from the virtual to the real. Idealism of the early work is an early manifestation of theosophy in the last work especially in manuscript K. Three phases appear in the development of phenomenology: Formation, achievement and application. In the phase of formation, phenomenology passed also four stages: Mathematics, logic, psychology and philosophy. The achievement manifested in ***Ideen I***, ***Ideen II***, and ***Ideen III***. Applied phenomenology appears also in different fields: Logic, philosophy, culture, ethics and religion [1].

2- Phenomenology is also a direct, indirect and virtual religious vision. In the direct religious vision, "God" appears as a formal or an objective Being. The object is put between brackets in order to retain "God" as a living experience, a dimension of human consciousness in relation to the world, to culture and in history. "God" is not a problem. God does not intervene in nature. This hypothetical intervention is an error in principle. Laws of nature and axioms of reason are determined and permanent. "God" encompasses the whole human community. He is permanence through change. God is not a guarantor of rational evidence against the genius evil as it is the case by Descartes. God is not either a concept-limit which pushes the mind towards transcendence. Transcendental philosophy would be enough [2]. Philosophy has to distinguish itself from theology. God of theology is a myth created by human will because of its ***veilleité*** and its weakness.

3- Transcendental wisdom is already a religious vision of the world. The highest cognitive power is a holy power ***Quwwa Qudsiya*** [3].

(1) Ex. Pheno. pp. 436-442.
(2) Ex. Pheno. pp. 442-458.
(3) Asfar III, pp. 384, VI, pp. 11-323.

A whole journey, "from truth to truth" is already a theory on the Necessary Being ***Wajib al-Wajud***. Religion may reach a high degree of anthropomorphism, God as a person. Omni-science, Omnipotence and life are three main Attributes. He does Hear, See, Say and Will. The whole world goes to God by the power of ***Eros 'Ishk***. God sits on a thrown, a Royal Chair [1]. His knowledge is written down in a Preserved Tablet.

3- In phenomenology, indirect religious vision appears in the reflections on certain philosophical and mathematical themes which are religious themes conceived on the level of consciousness and expressed on human, open and universal language such as: The Absolute, The Universal, The Essence, The Ideal and The Pure. Transcendental Idealism is an indirect religious vision. There is no difference between Fichte and Jesus. This indirect religious vision appears also in the moral and practical trend behind logic. If the moral of the categorical Imperative is linked to pietism, phenomenology is no less pietistic.

4- The transcendental wisdom is also a certain kind of indirect religious worldview, from nature through reason to God, and from God back to nature through the soul. Finality in the soul and in the world is an indirect demonstration of the existence of God as final cause. There is no room for absurdity [2].

5- The virtual religious vision appears in the movement of the latent thinking towards the superior in a mathematical form. The critique of psychologism is a desire to liberate human consciousness from this world to another world, a conversion of the sight ***Blichwenlung***, from the outside to the inside. It appears also in the Reduction, putting the material world outside attention because "My kingdom is not from this world". The virtual religious vision appears also in the critique of the formal to orient human consciousness

(1) Asfar VI, pp. 290-305, VII, pp. 138-192.
(2) Asfar II, pp. 250-251.

towards the transcendental because the kingdom of heavens is near. Phenomenology and Theosophy share the same finality but they differ in the means, reason for phenomenology and revelation in theosophy.

6- Phenomenology is mainly a theory of knowledge, while transcendental wisdom is a theory of ethics. Phenomenology is the science of what appears, while transcendental wisdom is a behavior ***Suluk*** [1]. The purpose of the purity of the soul is not only knowledge as in phenomenology but also salvation [2].

In Phenomenology there is no direct theory of ethics while in transcendental wisdom there is a clear theory of good and evil [3]. Also there is no eschatology. Transcendental world is between brackets as the natural world. In Transcendental wisdom a clear spatial eschatology is visible. The other world is a real outcome of this world through purification of the soul and the good deeds. This world is a world of action, while the other world is a world of retribution. Resurrection is for the body and the soul. Images of the death and after death are all human images not things. They have only significances in human living experiences [4].

7- In Phenomenology, hermeneutics is an art of understanding by the analysis of human experience. The deciphering is for the signs in the world. While in transcendental wisdom, hermeneutics is for a text, the Qur'an, an art of writing. The text is ambiguous, with a double meaning, extoric and esoteric [5].

The comparison between Husserl's phenomenology and Mulla Sadra's Theosophy is relevant, not only philosophically, but also historically. Husserl came at the end of modern times (d. 1937 AD,

(1) Asfar II, pp. 13-20.
(2) Asfar III, pp. 478-491.
(3) Asfar VII, pp. 55.
(4) Asfar IX, pp. 82-106.
(5) Asfar VII, pp. 10-55.

1356 H.), Mulla Sadra came at the middle of Islamic mediaeval times (d. 1050 H., 1640 AB) similar to St. Bonavantura ***Itenerarium mentis in Deum***. The question is: Can Theosophy be a point of departure in Islamic modern times as Descartes' Reason was for Western modern times?



❁ BY THE SAME AUTHOR ❁

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